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The Shape of Things

HOWEVER "UNOFFICIAL" OR "INDIRECT," Stalin's statement has moved the Soviet peace campaign to a new plane. It can no longer be dismissed as a succession of balloons sent up by foreign subordinates who could be repudiated any time their attempts seemed futile. The chief has spoken, and his words are not less significant merely because they were in answer to a newspaperman's questions. He has used the same technique before when he wanted to state a position but was not ready for a direct diplomatic approach. The State Department cannot afford, therefore, merely to view his proposals "with caution." Caution may be taken for granted; there is called for in addition an open and clearly formulated expression of our own attitude on the issues raised. As Mr. del Vayo said last week, predicting further proposals from Moscow, "something new must be invented to deal with a new situation." Are we willing to postpone the establishment of a Western German state, pending a further discussion of the whole German problem by the Council of Foreign Ministers, in return for a lifting of the Berlin blockade? So far, the State Department has been leery of any deal with Russia which involves such a commitment, for a solidly integrated western Germany is one of the keystones of our plan for Western Union and the Atlantic Pact. On the other hand, Stalin's offer is one which will appeal mightily to our Continental allies and to peace-hungry people everywhere. The President and the State Department need not say yes or no to the Kremlin's overtures. They can make a counter-proposal—suggest, for example, the immediate reconvening of the Foreign Ministers' Council to deal with the Berlin issue. What they cannot afford to do is to give an impression of mere skepticism or mere hostility.

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IF CONGRESS PASSES THE SUCCESSOR TO THE Taft-Hartley act in anything like the form proposed by the Administration, labor will have more reason than ever to congratulate itself on its campaign for Mr. Truman's election. A bill of such complexity calls for more analysis than is possible as we go to press, but it is apparent from even the most superficial study that the measure would correct the flagrant inequities of Taft-Hartley. Not only would the closed shop again have federal sanction, but where interstate commerce is involved the states would be forbidden to ban closed-shop agreements. The prohibition on political expenditures by unions would be lifted, and their officials no longer required to sign the fatuous oath of non-Communist purity. In several respects, the bill differs from the old Wagner act. Labor, like management, is deemed capable of unfair practices, and two of these—jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts—would be subject to justifiable curbs, albeit of a limited sort. A further change from Wagner-act practice would be in the procedures of federal conciliation machinery. In strikes affecting the national health or safety, a "cooling-off period" would be proclaimed by the President, during which an emergency board would make a finding. Acceptance, however, would be voluntary, the parties being subject only to the pressure of public opinion. Nowhere in the bill does the hated word "injunction" appear, but since parties to a dispute "shall" observe the cooling-off proclamation, the question arises as to whether or not the injunctive process is still there, quietly concealed. This and other aspects of the bill will be fiercely debated in the weeks to come, but not—thanks to the miracle of November 2—in the hysterical and intransigent mood that marked the passage of the Taft-Hartley act.

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BY FORTIFYING THE POSITION OF MAPAI, THE government party, the Israeli elections have strengthened Ben-Gurion's government itself at a critical moment in its negotiations with the Egyptians. There is now no chance that Israel's foreign policy will suffer any change or face serious internal opposition as far as the Arab settlement is concerned. The government is further buttressed by the flood of recognitions—including de jure recognition by the United States—which has rolled in during the past week. In spite of the near-deadlock which continues at Rhodes, many factors combine to make an early peace seem probable. Abdullah's decision to send representatives to Rhodes is one; another is the urgent desire of Egypt to arrive at a settlement which will not keep Britain strongly intrenched on its border. We may yet see the two Arab countries vying with each other for advantage, while Israel acts as honest broker between them!

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PERHAPS THE VEIL OF CHARITY HAD BEST be drawn over the raucous wake which the Republicans staged last week in an Omaha hotel auditorium appropriately called the "Black Mirror" room. Only the

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 141
Eastern Union 144
The Albany Hearing 145
End of an Adventure *by Freda Kirchwey* 147

ARTICLES
Truman's Colonial Experiment *by Thomas Sancton* 146
Asia Moves Toward Unity *by Shiva Rao* 148
The Last Stand of Ernest Bevin *by David Williams* 149
Liberty in America: Blitz in Los Angeles *by Carey McWilliams* 151
A Guerrillero Speaks *by Del Vayo* 153
What the Assembly Promised *by Henri Rolin* 154
China: the Communists' Plan *by Andrew Roth* 156

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Dreiser Undone *by Irving Howe* 159
Gandhi's Experiments *by Elsie Howe* 159
Painter of Indians *by Benjamin Rowland, Jr.* 161
The English-speaking World *by J. R. Brebner* 162
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 162
Books in Brief 164
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 165
Drama Note *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 166
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 166

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 167

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 299 *by Frank W. Lewis* 168

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smuggest of Democrats will fail to recall that as late as November 1 their leaders were resigned to holding the same sort of affair. But there are differences. First, the Democrats were all set for a real battle of beliefs, while the Republicans are engaged in a furious row between personal factions. And, second, where the Democrats would have ignored a defeated Truman as a very dead duck, the Republicans appear to see in Dewey not only signs of life but the first faint flutterings of revived ambition. The long-pent-up resentment against the "Albany gang" needed only the terrifying prospect of a William Jennings Dewey to whip itself into a white heat. Party chairman Hugh D. Scott owes his appointment to Joe Grundy and the Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers, a fact that could hardly win him the ideological enmity of the Taft forces, but it was enough that he was Dewey's choice, however nominal his role in the campaign. To retain his post, even by the narrowest vote, he had to join in the excoriation of the party's nominee. This he did with gusto and called it "courage." But not before the air of the Black Mirror room crackled with phrases like "financial and political blackmail," "knifing in the back," and "utterly lacking in principle." In the heat of the conflict, Mr. Scott so far forgot himself as to suggest that the national committee had been infiltrated by—if our readers will pardon the expression—"Democrats." In general, the view prevailed that the election had been lost because of a "failure of salesmanship." Only Governor Peterson of Nebraska, suggesting that "we must offer a positive program," even hinted that the best of salesmen must have a product.

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WHATEVER THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE may recommend on the subject, the filibuster has already become a frail reed for diehard Southerners to lean on. In the past few years, they have depended on a ruling of the chair that while debate on bills might be ended by a two-thirds' vote, no such cloture rule applied to motions to introduce a measure. When Senator Vandenberg accepted this procedure in the Eightieth Congress, he was opposed on the floor by Alben Barkley, then minority leader and now himself the presiding officer in his capacity as Vice-President. Since even the Southerners flatly assume that Barkley will close this loophole, their only hope is that the two-thirds' rule will be retained and that they can muster the necessary thirty-three votes. For the sake of the President's civil-rights program, it would be safer to change the rule so as to end debate by a majority vote, but, to take the long view, there is undoubtedly danger in such a course. This should be especially apparent to those who demand drastic action now but who applauded Glen Taylor's attempt to filibuster the draft act a year ago. Senator Norris, himself a champion of the filibuster, repeatedly

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pointed out the virtues of prolonged debate as a protection for the minority party. While we agree that the tyranny of the majority may at times be a menace, we are convinced that tyranny by the minority is even less defensible in a democratic legislature. Nevertheless, we should not want to see the two-thirds' rule abolished unless the change were accompanied by provision for full discussion. This might be achieved by Senator Pepper's proposal to forbid cloture until ten days of debate had elapsed, or by Senator Morse's amendment, permitting ninety-six hours of argument after the "gag rule" had been invoked.

*

TO HARRY S. TOY, POLICE COMMISSIONER OF Detroit, goes the distinction of applying the loyalty-oath procedure in the most ominous form yet proposed. To spare his city certain Communist-inspired "dangers" which "security considerations" prevent him from disclosing, the Commissioner has made the oath a requirement for all newspaper reporters seeking unrestricted police and fire press-cards. What the move amounts to is the assumption by a local official of the power to dictate to publishers the personnel they may hire. An oath designed to catch Communists may obviously be broadened to catch others. A situation is created in which the individual reporter and his paper as well face the possibility of retaliatory action for coverage which the Police Commissioner might find unfavorable to himself. We are not in any way suggesting that Commissioner Toy has anything to conceal, but in view of the long history of municipal graft in the United States, and of the role of the press in exposing it, the dangers of such a precedent are obvious. The Detroit Newspaper Guild, a right-wing local, is properly aroused over the order and its members propose to continue gathering news "without license." What is most disturbing about the episode is the indifference of the publishers themselves. The *Free Press* threatens court action if Toy attempts to deny its reporters "access at all times to public records," whether or not they choose to sign the oath, but it stands alone. Both the *News* and the *Times* see no objection to the Commissioner's order. We await the reaction of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which boldly raised the "freedom of the press" slogan when the Justice Department prosecuted the A. P. as a trust and even when the government sought to assure a fair distribution of newsprint during the war.

*

"BIG STEEL'S" PRELIMINARY REPORT FOR 1948 is of more than usual interest. What caught the headlines was an announcement of a three-for-one split in the common stock; what really deserves more attention is the system of accounting devised to keep stated profits as low as possible. There are two reasons why an increasing number of companies have been splitting their stock, a process which does not, of course, add to its net worth or the intrinsic value of the shares. First, there is usually a broader market for low- and medium-priced stocks, since small investors would rather buy thirty shares at twenty-five than ten at seventy-five. And big corporations are anxious to widen distribution of their stock for political as well as financial considerations. As the *Journal of Commerce* puts it, when large numbers of people own shares in leading industries they "become more critical of unjustified, demagogic attacks upon enterprise." Another reason for stock splits is that they may conceal the size of profits. United States Steel in 1948 earned $11.99 a share. Should it do equally well this year, earnings will appear as $4 a share, which looks much more modest. Fortunately, union negotiators these days are usually too sophisticated to be fooled by optical illusions of this kind. Nor are they likely to be taken in by the fact that, according to its published accounts, the company's net profits in 1948 were only $2,500,000 more than in 1947. This feat has been accomplished by doubling "extra depreciation" —that is, depreciation in excess of that allowed by the tax authorities—and by making a change in the method of charging vacation pay which added almost $20,000,000 to 1948 expenses. On a truly comparable basis, last year's profits appear to be $204,500,000 or $10 per ton for shipments against $153,300,000 or $7.5 per ton in 1947.

*

NOT MANY TEARS SHOULD BE SHED OVER Walter Gieseking's sudden departure from these shores. Had he wished, he could have remained until the completion of an Immigration Service hearing on his "desirability." His hasty leavetaking betrayed his fears as to the results of such an inquiry. But the question remains: Why was it necessary for the government to postpone action until the very eve of the pianist's initial concert at Carnegie Hall? Gieseking's record of collaboration with the Nazis was bad enough to get him on the Military Government blacklist. Although the army reversed itself in 1947, the Justice Department still considered Gieseking unfit for entry, and in July, 1948, issued a "keep-out" order to its Immigration Service, whose jurisdiction begins only after an entrant arrives here. The State Department, which grants entry visas, posted this order in all embassies and consulates. The door, it would seem, had been effectively slammed. Nevertheless, advertisements of Gieseking's American concert tour began to appear. In response to questions by interested persons, the Visa Division announced on January 8 that Gieseking had not yet applied for a visa. But the elaborate arrangements made by the artist's representatives proclaimed their confidence that a visa would be granted. It was. A few days before his arrival, additional damning

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evidence against Gieseking was brushed aside by the State Department on the ground that the ancient statute governing visas permits exclusion only of anarchists and Communists. Gieseking landed on January 22, and then the Justice Department could take over. On the twenty-third, there was a preliminary investigation. On the twenty-fourth, it was decided to hold a formal hearing. Mr. Gieseking flew away on the twenty-fifth. This swift and happy ending to the sorry story of administrative ineptitude is gratifying.

*

NOTHING COULD HAVE BEEN MORE FIT AND satisfying than the choice of Frank Porter Graham as recipient of the Sidney Hillman Award for Meritorious Service. Dr. Graham deserves the honor on many counts —as liberal educator, as a vigorous defender of unpopular causes, and as a public servant who has spent himself beyond his strength to implement the democratic professions of the government he serves. Recently, first as American member of the United Nations Good Offices Commission for Indonesia and then as adviser on the same subject to the State Department, he has worked unceasingly for Indonesian independence under the provisions laid down by the United Nations. At the dinner in Washington last Saturday at which the award was given, Dr. Graham spoke plainly on the issue before the Security Council, demanding "the immediate liberation of the imprisoned Indonesian leaders and the restoration of the Republic of Indonesia." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers did a fine thing when it set up the Sidney Hillman Foundation; the foundation by giving its first award to Dr. Graham has firmly established its own liberal purposes and standards.

Eastern Union

THE only really surprising thing about the new Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, formed recently by the Soviet Union and five of its neighbors, is that it has made such a belated debut. In the fall of 1947, the emergence of some such organization seemed clearly foreshadowed in the Cominform's blast at the Marshall Plan. That document emphasized that European economic reconstruction was only possible on the basis of bilateral trade agreements such as Moscow had already concluded with all the nations in its own sphere. And it carried the suggestion that these trading arrangements might be integrated in a "Molotov Plan" which would do for Eastern Europe what the Marshall Plan was supposed to do for Western Europe, but without any taint of "economic imperialism."

As we pointed out at the time, the difficulty about a "Molotov Plan" is that, unlike the United States, the U. S. S. R. has little if any surplus for foreign lending. It cannot spare from its own industrialization program the machinery and raw materials its dependent states need. The economies of the Eastern nations are not, under present conditions, complementary. Trade between them is impeded by the fact that they have much the same kinds of goods to sell, while they all want to buy products which are only available in the industrialized West.

The new organization can hardly overcome that major obstacle. What, then, are its purposes? In view of the Muscovite obscurity in which the communiqué announcing its birth was worded, there can be no certainty about the answer to this question. The object of the council is "to establish still broader economic cooperation" among its members, and it is to hold regular meetings in order to exchange technical and other experience and to render "mutual assistance in regard to raw materials, foodstuffs, machinery, equipment, etc." On the surface, that does not appear to constitute a major development and certainly does not indicate the emergence of anything comparable to the Office of European Economic Cooperation in Paris.

Nevertheless, the council may be designed as a step toward something like a common economic plan for the Eastern bloc. A Polish spokesman, commenting on the new agreement, indicated that it would mean mutilateral exchanges among the nations in the group instead of the present clumsy and time-wasting bilateral arrangements. In view of the dominance, political and economic, of Soviet Russia, that would enable the Kremlin to determine the economic role of the other member states to a still greater extent than now. Even the most loyal members of the Communist group of nations have been torn between satisfying Russian requirements and filling their own desperate needs for Western goods. To some extent, in making such agreements through the iron curtain as Poland has recently concluded with Britain, they are bound to compete with one another.

It may be, therefore, that the Soviet Union is seeking both to secure greater harmony between the economic planning of the nations it heads and to insure that they present a united front in trading with the West. That would certainly mean greater centralization of power in Moscow, but it might also lead to the creation of more Titos, for one of the chief reasons for the Yugoslav revolt has been the refusal of Belgrade to accept a "semi-colonial" status and mold its economy in accordance with Moscow's requirements. Nor would joint bargaining by an Eastern union with individual Western countries necessarily lead to the expansion of trade between the two Europes that is so much to be desired. If British purchases of bacon from Poland were to be made conditional on Belgian sales of steel to Russia, present difficulties in concluding commercial exchanges between East and West would inevitably be multiplied.

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The Albany Hearing

THE NATION'S fight against its exclusion from the New York City schools moved ahead a step when Francis T. Spaulding, the State Commissioner of Education, last week heard arguments in the case from our counsel, Edward S. Greenbaum, and from Michael A. Castaldi, of the Corporation Counsel's office. The hearing was public and was conducted by the Commissioner with complete dignity and impartiality. Besides the oral presentation of the case, briefs were filed by the opposing counsel and by several interested organizations. For our side, Archibald MacLeish submitted a brief amicus curiæ on behalf of the Ad Hoc Committee and a number of individuals and organizations which had protested the ban. A second amicus brief was filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. Both ably supplemented the legal arguments by emphasizing the broad principles of freedom of inquiry involved in the case.

The most disturbing aspect of the hearing was the character of the opposition. For the first time since the fight began, Roman Catholic groups openly intervened in support of the ban. The delegation arrayed against *The Nation* was composed exclusively of representatives of such Catholic organizations as the Guild of Catholic Lawyers, the Catholic Lawyers' Guild of Brooklyn, the Catholic Institute of the Press, and the Knights of Columbus. The Guild of Catholic Lawyers claimed in its brief that it spoke in behalf of "a coordinated committee of 103 organizations of the Catholic laity," and this may be so; but it is a curious fact that none of these supporting organizations is named, and even more curious that the guild itself is not listed in the telephone book.

The Guild of Catholic Lawyers defended the action of the Board of Education and the Board of Superintendents on much the same legal grounds as were used by the Corporation Counsel. But its general attack on the Blanshard articles and on *The Nation* itself was so extreme as to be almost scurrilous. Using the reactionary columnist George Sokolsky as a character witness against *The Nation*, it charged this journal with promoting "intolerance and disunity," claiming that the only people whose constitutional rights have "presumably" been attacked are "the tax-paying parents of school children who would find it impossible freely to exercise their religion if the Blanshard sect of anti-Catholicism were established in their public schools by the state Department of Education." A more ludicrously inaccurate statement would be hard to invent.

The intervention of these partisan organizations does not prove that the Roman Catholic church itself instigated the ban. Superintendent of Schools Jansen has repeatedly and indignantly denied any pressure from Catholic sources, and we are prepared to believe that the board acted on its own unfortunate initiative. But it is impossible to imagine that any one of the organized Catholic lay groups that made up the delegation at Albany was there without the approval of the church.

The next move in Albany will be the filing of briefs in rebuttal, after which the Commissioner presumably will make his decision. Further steps to be taken in the battle to restore freedom to the public schools will be reported in these pages.

End of an Adventure

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

PERHAPS the New York *Star* was doomed from birth, since it was really the continuation under a new name and format of a journal that had already died. It started free from debt but burdened just the same with a tradition of failure and with inadequate means. Its owners, Bartley C. Crum and Joseph Barnes, were without experience in newspaper management, though Crum was a lawyer with an extensive business background and Barnes a first-rate newspaperman. Both believed that a place existed in New York for an independent liberal daily, and both gave up established careers to try to prove it. Their valor and genuine ability were not sufficient to overcome the odds that had defeated *PM*, even though Marshall Field, who sold them the property, broke his promise to himself by helping to finance the new venture.

That it folded finally for lack of new funds is not a reflection either on Mr. Field or the *Star's* owners. A daily journal in New York, or in any large city, is big business today; it must be heavily financed and succeed on a generous scale or go out of existence. That Crum and Barnes were inexperienced in the field merely explains their willingness to undertake the adventure; it does not explain their failure. They made a brave try at an apparently inaccessible goal, and liberals the country over, who followed the new journal's fortunes with anxiety and hope, are grateful to them for their courage.

But what such people should ask themselves is this: Is it really impossible for a liberal daily in America to find sufficient financial backing to compete on equal terms for readers and advertising with the big conservative press? If so, why? The vote in five successive Presidential elections would indicate that the country is more progressive than conservative, and is badly served by a press which was overwhelmingly against Roosevelt and Truman. Is all the venture capital in the hands of the right? Probably most of it is, though liberal causes and liberal political campaigns still raise impressive sums from wealthy supporters. What may stand in the way of financing liberal newspapers is the fixed idea that only conservative papers appealing to the rich—and to big advertisers—or sensational papers appealing to the masses

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—and to the popular, low-priced market—can succeed commercially.

And perhaps this is true. But the other day, I heard about a successful cooperatively owned labor daily in Winnipeg, Manitoba, founded with money invested in small sums by hundreds of farmers and workers. It is paying for itself and preparing to start offspring papers in two other cities. The day of progressive journalism may come only when the people who go out and vote once every four years for a Truman or a Roosevelt develop enough continuing interest in the fight for a liberal democratic America to demand news and editorials that reflect their version of the truth. The tragedy of American journalism is that that day should be so long in arriving.

Truman's Colonial Experiment

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, January 28

THE political seasons change swiftly in Washington. This week the great spy game of only a few months back could be viewed in all its essential triviality in the light of another search now going on—the search for government plans and blueprints of a larger order. Everybody is hunting for the operational details of President Truman's "bold new program" for worldwide colonial development. And nobody has yet found a pumpkin containing all the answers.

Apparently extraordinarily little paperwork had been done before the President revealed the plan in the course of his inaugural speech. Nevertheless, its mere existence in his mind as a strongly held idea and intention makes it a paramount force in world affairs. For the President, though a modest man, is a very simply integrated and therefore stubborn personality—as the world has now had the opportunity to learn.

The purpose of the President's plan is to confront the challenge of communism in backward areas. This will be done, he said, through the use of America's scientific and financial resources "to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens."

To achieve this the federal government must control and direct vast, uncoordinated, and essentially predatory economic forces of the sort which are usually attracted to the risky gamble of foreign investment. The history of colonial investment has been written in terms of Clive of India rather than St. Francis of Assisi. It has its pedigree, its laws of operation, and its outlook— and these stand in sharp contrast to the larger paternalistic strategy envisioned by the Truman program. The Roosevelt of the pre-war years might have had the personal force, the range and depth of intellect, and the political skill to shape and guide a hybrid economic program, based on private and government investment capital, toward these paradoxical and essentially non-capitalistic ends. President Truman, though he has a strong will when his mind has been made up, lacks Roosevelt's ability to grasp a program in all its worldwide implications and to guide it firmly. Therefore this program, which undoubtedly was conceived in idealism, and which represents in his mind a stroke of democratic statesmanship that will have worldwide effects, may be taken over at the administrative level and turned into a government-subsidized colonialism by the same reactionary forces that have commandeered American foreign policy and turned it into the cold war.

Certain ideological origins of the President's colonial program are not difficult to trace. Ironically, one chief source is Henry Wallace's speech on the Price of Free World Victory, delivered in 1942, a speech which was derided in financial circles as a plan to provide "milk for the Hottentots." President Truman was also aware of various ideas for colonial development which President Roosevelt had picked up while flying over North African deserts en route to war-time meetings. An early forerunner of these ideas was a development program for the new Chinese Republic drawn up in 1921 by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who applied to the Western nations and Japan for a large loan for projects including roads, railways, telephone systems, harbors, navigation, mining, and soil erosion. Today Dr. Sun's plan probably provides the most realistic picture available of what the Truman program, if it emerges, must actually undertake in the field. The Washington Conference of 1921 did not give China the loan. Only the winds of diplomacy were sown in China—for the loan was blocked on fine calculations of the balance of power in the Orient. Today the Communist whirlwind is the harvest.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations is already engaged, on a very small scale, in sending technical missions to study agricultural problems in member nations—one of the activities projected in the Truman proposals. An FAO group, for example, has just completed a study of oil-bearing palms and plants in Venezuela. Other recent and specific sources of the program are a memorandum on capital investment in backward areas submitted to the President by John J. McCloy, president of the World Bank, and

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similar studies made by a group of long-time New Dealers in the Interior Department headed by Under Secretary Oscar Chapman.

Aside from these sources, the program was dictated by certain massive factors of the age. The movement of large bodies of American troops and vast quantities of supplies through primitive colonial countries showed the crying need for a post-war program devoted to the betterment of colonial peoples and also proved its practicality. No "dark continents" or "impenetrable jungles" can halt the modern military column. The Burma Road, the Alcan Highway, the trans-African projects broke through immemorial barriers. Bulldozers and tractors reconstructed Pacific islands in days or weeks. Portable dynamos brought power tools to regions where coolies and oxen had hewn wood and drawn water since the dawn of time.

But the President's first outline of the idea shows a lack of daring, a failure to grapple with the dilemmas implicit in proselytizing for democracy by means of the ancient economic vehicle of private colonial investment. The speech was full of the exhortations and evasions of Kiwanis oratory. "Guaranties to the investor must be balanced by guaranties in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments." The contributions of other countries will be "warmly welcomed." These great objectives are to be achieved "with the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor." "The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans."

One factor of grave proportions is missing in this presentation—the factor of realism. Western history has shown that the naked universal motivation of gain reaches its highest economic development in the gamble and scramble for colonial riches. Columbus discovered America out of such a motivation. The dealings of the American Arabian Oil Company and the Iraq Petroleum Company, stoutly defended by Secretary Forrestal, are part of the abundant recent evidence that things have not changed much since then. Our allies, as the President said, should be "the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness." But a United Press dispatch from Long Beach, California, on January 9, cut through platitudes and got down to realities:

> A gold-trimmed 195-foot yacht was reported today to be on the way to the Sheik of Kuwait as a gift in appreciation of the granting of oil concessions in Arabia. The vessel left the harbor here yesterday after $1,000,000 was spent in refitting it. Two gold-trimmed twenty-six-foot motor launches to go with the yacht as shore boats also were built.

Another indication of the human motivations called into play by the colonial gamble is contained in the following passage from Dorothy Thompson's column of January 7:

> Congress should investigate a trade agreement allegedly made in Havana last January between the Republic of Indonesia . . . and a New York City promoter. . . . The agreement, which I have seen, is perhaps the most scandalous proposition ever made by an up-and-coming promoter to a supposedly sovereign state. If carried out, it practically would put the whole economy of Indonesia into the hands of an American corporation under conditions whereby the risks would be carried by the Indonesian Republic and a straight 7½ per cent profit guaranteed the corporation.

C. L. Sulzberger expresses a candid point of view in a New York *Times* dispatch from Geneva dated January 11:

> The high living standards of Europe are certainly to a degree dependent upon the availability of raw materials and cheap labor in Asia and Africa. Although old-fashioned colonial imperialism is considered outmoded, a recovering Europe cannot do without sources of wealth in areas menaced by the U. S. S. R.'s new drive for "popular democracy."

Nevertheless, Secretary of State Acheson emphasized in an interview that private capital will be depended on for financing the major part of the program. He said that "if the proper conditions" are created to attract investors, "the reservoirs of private capital are very great indeed" for such investments.

Over the last decade a number of Southern and Western states have made independent efforts of varying intensity to create "proper conditions" for Northern investment capital. Since the financial relationship of Wall Street to the South and West has been of a semi-colonial nature, the outcome of these efforts sheds some light on the global program. The Mississippi program, called "Balance Agriculture with Industry," was the first and most extensive of the local plans for attracting Northern industries. State tax exemptions were given for five years, and local communities built factories by public bond issue in return for a guaranty of a certain level of employment for a given period of years. In some communities living standards were probably raised by the industries drawn in. In others local merchants in supine alliance with the Northern-owned corporations kept unions out and the labor force docile, and the program in some areas amounts to the importation of Northern sweatshop conditions with the added feature that the factories are donated to the manufacturer. The real wealth of these states—the forests and other raw materials and the underpaid labor—continues to be drained off by Northern owners in the inexorable colonial pattern.

Recent industrial developments indicate that a number of American firms are moving plants to low-wage areas in foreign countries, just as over a period of thirty years Northern industry has been drifting into the Southern areas that offered low wages and unorganized labor.

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Officials of the United Electrical Workers, the Associated Press reported last week, are seeking to have the government block the transfer of four Remington Rand Typewriter Company plants to Scotland. They charged that the Underwood Typewriter Company had established a plant in Italy which was shipping its products to the United States, and that the Easy Washing Machine Company has reduced its working force at Syracuse, New York, because of a transfer of some of the manufacturing facilities to South Africa.

It is in the area of what the federal government demands from the investment companies for native peoples in such fields as wages, medical care, housing, food, schooling—in return for guaranteed profits—that the Truman global program will face the crucial test of economic reality and world opinion. It actually has become a necessity now for the United States to provide milk or its equivalent for the "Hottentots." For we are in worldwide competition with another system which promises these things.

Asia Moves Toward Unity

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, January 27, by Cable

THE Asian conference held here last week, with Prime Minister Nehru presiding, was the first "of its kind," as Carlos P. Romulo, the Filipino leader, reminded it. However, it was not a strictly Asian conference: the presence of delegates from Ethiopia, Egypt, Australia, and New Zealand—the last country being merely an observer—denied it that character. Siam, China, and Nepal were others which chose to attend as observers. The active participants were Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen. All of them affirmed their support for the purposes and principles of the United Nations and acknowledged their obligation to accept the Security Council's decisions in accordance with the Charter.

Nehru referred to the Dutch aggression in Indonesia as an expression of a colonialism which should disappear from all Asia, but at the same time made it abundantly clear that the conference would neither encourage the formation of an Asian bloc within the United Nations nor try to encroach on the Security Council's functions. Great as is the part that America and Europe have played in shaping the course of world events, this gathering of representatives from nineteen countries—all but Ceylon and Nepal members of the United Nations—indicated that Asia would no longer lag behind. Already, as both Nehru and Romulo observed, the Asian membership of the U. N. represents 30 per cent of its total voting strength and over half of the world's population.

Romulo was not deterred by Nehru's cautious approach from suggesting that out of this conference should emerge a regional bloc working within the framework of the U. N. to further the interests of its Asian members. He proposed a permanent standing committee, with headquarters in New Delhi or Manila, which should work out the details of the organization and keep vigilant watch on developments in Indonesia. It was not Dutch aggression alone he was contemplating: complacency at this juncture, he broadly hinted, might open the door to other ideologies to spread through Asia.

The spokesman of the Arab countries wanted the conference to take note of Arab feelings about Palestine. Pakistan deplored the unhappy plight of a Security Council which must give its undignified approval to so many *faits accomplis*—as the result of military action. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Zafrullah Khan, is too astute a politician to stray into an irrelevant observation and must therefore have had certain special problems in mind.

No reference was made in the conference to the fierce race riots in Durban and other places in South Africa, which had caused great losses of Indian lives and property. Elsewhere Deputy Premier Patel expressed his regret that such atrocities were perpetrated by another member of the British Commonwealth, especially at a time when India had not yet finally decided whether to continue its associations with Britain and the dominions. These incidents aroused intense indignation throughout India and will be brought up when the General Assembly reconvenes at Lake Success in April.

The conference concentrated on Indonesia. It adopted three resolutions: one made certain recommendations to the Security Council for restoring peace with honor in Indonesia; another declared that the participating countries should devise methods of cooperating through normal diplomatic channels; the third set up machinery to promote consultation and cooperation within the framework of the United Nations. The Indonesian resolution contained an eight-point peace plan with a time-table. Among the eight points were withdrawal of the Dutch

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troops, formation of an interim government, and elections to a constituent assembly—all leading to the establishment of a free United States of Indonesia by the end of this year. The conference felt, though it prudently refrained from letting its resolution reflect its feeling, that the American-sponsored proposals before the Security Council were too vague and offered too many opportunities for Dutch evasion in that they fixed no time limit for the restoration of Republican authority and the withdrawal of Dutch troops.

Nehru's covering letter addressed to the President of the Security Council contained the reminder that "effective action by the Council to bring this situation to an end is overdue." But until the Council has finally disposed of the matter, the Asian countries have no intention of prejudging the issue or of rushing hastily into action. Nevertheless, as practically all the Indian newspapers have remarked, the resolutions of the conference mark only the first step in safeguarding Indonesia's independence. Should the Security Council ignore the intensity of Asian resentment, the possibility that regional sanctions might be applied cannot be ruled out.

Ceylon's Foreign Minister, addressing the gathering under the auspices of the Indian Council on World Affairs, advocated a mutual defense pact for India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and Burma. These countries had inherited from Britain, he said, a parliamentary form of government and a democratic way of life. They had also recently—except Malaya—won their freedom from England. Since the cost of defense was heavy and there was urgent need of expenditures for social purposes, he thought the countries of the Indian Ocean region might benefit from pooling their resources.

Indonesia has served as a stimulant for Asian feeling. Whether the conference leads to the immediate creation of permanent machinery for regional cooperation within the framework of the U. N. or merely encourages mutual consultation, avoiding what Nehru calls an "Asian bloc," it is clear that Asian sentiment generally has reacted powerfully to the suggestion of concerted action.

The Last Stand of Ernest Bevin

BY DAVID WILLIAMS

London, January 27, by Cable

THE dismal story of British bumbling about Israel seems to be approaching its end. That is the conclusion the British public, or rather that small portion of it which takes any interest in foreign affairs, has drawn from the recent parliamentary debate on the subject. Blundering to the end, Bevin rejected opportunities repeatedly offered him to salvage some scrap of that reputation he once recklessly staked on his solution of the problem. He would have had little trouble, at least from the Labor Party itself, if he had chosen to announce de facto recognition of Israel before or during the debate. Indeed, it was so generally believed that he would do precisely this that he had very smooth passage in a private meeting of Labor M. P.'s which took place on the morning of the debate. Many ardent Zionists felt that the recognition of Israel would close one unhappy chapter and open a new and more constructive period in the relations of British Labor with the Jews.

Ernest Bevin

Silverman, a lifelong supporter of Israel's cause and one of the most influential parliamentarians and debaters on either side of the House, took this conciliatory line and was warmly applauded even by Labor M. P.'s who had been strong supporters of the Arab case.

The Zionists were the more ready to do this since they privately acknowledge that many of Bevin's egregious errors have brought long-terms benefits to Israel which in the course of time may outweigh the hardships he has caused it. It looks as if his unwilling midwifery had assisted in bringing forth a much bigger, stronger Jewish state than he had imagined possible. Indeed, Zionists remark that it is as a steward of Britain's own interests that the Foreign Secretary has done his most lamentable job. At the end of the war Britain was all-powerful in the Middle East, and the Arabs, very conscious of their mediocre record during the conflict, could readily have been molded by a firm, skilful hand. Britain could have had in Israel a loyal dominion of the British Commonwealth and a rallying-point for its interests in the Middle East. It could have had land bases in the Negev, and its ships could have found anchorage and an oil supply at Haifa. That, at least, is

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the stated judgment of Ian Mikardo, one of the shrewdest parliamentary critics of British policy with respect to Israel.

But even at this late date Mr. Bevin procrastinated about recognition. In Mr. Churchill's pungent words, "He preferred to retire under a cloud of inky water and vapor like a cuttlefish to some retreat." Churchill was very near his top form in the debate. He always excels when he speaks on a subject in which he is genuinely interested, and many Laborites frankly recognize his services to the Jewish cause. Indeed, it is primarily due to his overwhelming authority that the Conservative Party has committed itself to the recognition of Israel. Left to their own devices, a clear majority of Conservative members would support the Arabs, as they make embarrassingly clear by applauding on occasions when, according to their own adopted policy, they should be silent. What must have made the pill all the more bitter for Bevin to swallow was the well-known fact that he has been an ardent admirer of Churchill in the past. Beyond a complimentary reference to Bevin's hostility to communism and his friendship for the United States, Churchill showed him no mercy. "Folly, stupidity, and fatuity" was one of the mildest phrases he drew from his vast arsenal. Clement Davies, leader of the Liberal Party, followed with a straightforward attack on Bevin.

Drawn from life by Berger
Winston Churchill

The intervention of R. H. S. Crossman, who had come direct from Israel, commanded the attention of the entire House. His critics, both on the left and on the right have often accused him of being an opportunist and place-seeker. Actually, though he took no great interest in Palestine before 1945, he has sacrificed the possibility of a high place in the government to his passionate belief in a sound Middle Eastern policy with a friendly Israel as the keystone.

As the time for the vote approached, Labor M. P.'s in large numbers were leaving the Parliament buildings or threatening to abstain from voting. The position became so dangerous that panic-stricken calls were made to every Minister and Labor member who could be reached by telephone. Strachey and Morrison hurried in wearing full evening dress. Attlee's closing speech had a ring of desperation which was shocking in so quiet a man. He threw the whole weight of the government behind the unfortunate Bevin. In his closing sentences he declared that he would consider the vote as one of confidence, thus pledging the resignation of himself and his Cabinet if the verdict went against him. As the M. P.'s thronged into the lobbies to vote, scores of members on the Labor side remained in their seats, not desiring to bring down the government. Almost one hundred abstained from voting. The government's majority was a mere ninety votes, the lowest since it took office. It was a bad day for the government and a worse day for Bevin.

Attlee had accused Churchill of a partisan plot to improve Conservative prospects at the general election by whittling down the prestige of Bevin, who, it must be confessed with regret, is much the most popular Minister in the Cabinet. It is quite likely that some such idea lurked in the back of Churchill's mind, and still more likely that it reconciled many Tory M. P.'s to voting against their Arab friends. But if so, Churchill only underlined the fact that Bevin is one of the most disastrously incompetent men ever to hold the office of Foreign Secretary. Indeed, perhaps the most telling hit was scored by a Tory backbencher in the House who said he had endured Bevin's speeches for almost four years and could not endure them any longer. They were torture to sit through, and he defied anyone who did not know in advance what Bevin was going to say, to make head or tail of them. He declared that the government of Britain could not be conducted by parliamentary forms unless men with more parliamentary competence were found.

With very little knowledge even of Commonwealth habits of thought, with much less of foreign countries, Bevin has staggered about for nearly four years like a rogue elephant in a china shop. Some of his staunchest friends in the Labor Party are beginning, privately, to confess their doubts. Intellectuals who "explain" his policies, seeking to make the unintelligible intelligible and the illiterate literate, are running out of explanations.

Yet it would be rash to assume that he will pass rapidly from the scene. His political assets are immense. In Churchill's apt phrase, he is "the working-class John Bull." His bad grammar and worse accent captivate a trade-union audience. It is useless to attack him because the same old Eton-Harrow reactionaries fill his Foreign Office. British workers thrill to the thought that "those snobs" are being ordered about by "one of ourselves." The John Bull side comes out in his constant chauvinism and xenophobia. The cup is always being dashed from his lips, the knife sunk in his back, and too many British workers who feel that, but for the obscure machinations of outsiders—Russians, Americans, or Jews—their lives would be less hard and dreary, share with him to the full his martyrdom and his self-righteousness.

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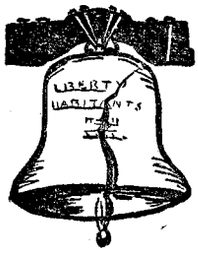
After a particularly bad appointment Mayor La-Guardia once had the grace to confess that when he made a blunder it was a beaut. Britain's and the world's best hope is that Attlee will some day rise to this height, but in any case it is comforting to reflect that Israel at least should now be safe from further harm.



LIBERTY IN AMERICA

Blitz in Los Angeles

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

[*This is the second article in a series on Liberty in America which began last week with the publication of Full Disclosure: Dangerous Precedent, by Arthur Garfield Hays. Some of the contributors to this series will deal, as does Carey McWilliams here, with local threats to the civil rights of particular individuals; others will treat broader aspects of the subject. I. F. Stone, in an early issue, will consider, What Rights Have Communists?*

Mr. McWilliams is well known to readers of The Nation *as a staff contributor especially concerned with the problems of minorities and with political liberalism in the West. His latest book is "North from Mexico."*]

Los Angeles, January 26

AT SEVEN o'clock on the morning of October 25, 1948, subpoenas were served on ten persons in Los Angeles summoning them to appear "forthwith and instanter" as witnesses before a federal grand jury.* At ten o'clock these persons appeared before Judge Pierson M. Hall and moved to dismiss the subpoenas on various grounds. The motion was summarily denied. From ten o'clock until half-past three in the afternoon the witnesses were before the grand jury. At 3:30 the government moved for an order to compel them to answer certain questions which they had refused to answer in reliance on their rights under the Fifth Amendment. Their counsel moved for a continuance so that they might prepare to meet this motion; the request was denied. Judge Hall then ordered the witnesses to answer the questions, and they were returned to the grand jury.

At the strange judicial hour of 10:35 in the evening the ten witnesses were brought before Judge Hall, and the government moved to have them held in contempt until such time as they answered the questions. After another motion for continuance was made and denied, the witnesses were committed to the custody of the marshal. Counsel then asked that the witnesses be released on bail pending appeal, and for the first time the blitzkrieg tempo of these singular proceedings momentarily slackened. Judge Hall put this motion over until the next morning, when he curtly denied it, though two of the witnesses were mothers and their children needed their care.

Since Justice Rutledge of the Supreme Court had ruled that the witnesses in a similar proceeding at Denver were entitled to be released on bail pending appeal, counsel for the Los Angeles "ten" now induced Judge William Denman of the Ninth Circuit Court to issue an order to that effect. But when the ten witnesses were released, after nine days in jail, they were promptly served with new subpoenas. Three of them were then taken before Judge Hall and asked a new series of questions; on their refusal to answer, presentments in criminal contempt were filed by the grand jury. The three were found in contempt by Judge Hall, but their sentencing was deferred, first, until January 17 and later till February 14 on the assumption that by that time the Ninth Circuit Court would have ruled on the original appeal.

At the time the original subpoenas were served, the government announced that it had issued thirty-four but had succeeded in serving only ten. Service was made later on three other persons. These new witnesses were then charged with having attempted to evade the original service and on the flimsiest evidential showing were compelled to post bonds of $1,000, $2,500, and $4,000, respectively, before Judge Hall would release them, pending their appearance before the grand jury.

IT IS apparent from this recital of the bare facts that legal processes have been gravely abused. Surely the constitutional right to be represented by counsel is made nearly meaningless if counsel is allowed only three hours in which to prepare to meet issues so important as those raised in this case. Once witnesses have been released on bail pending their appeal, the service of additional subpoenas on the same individuals appears, on the face of things, a type of petty harassment which reflects little credit on the Department of Justice.

In launching the Los Angeles and Denver proceedings the Department of Justice would seem at first glance to have acted clumsily and inconsistently. In New York, through the indictment of twelve leaders of the Communist Party, the government has inferentially taken

*A letter of protest against these proceedings by Hollister Noble, husband of one of the witnesses subpoenaed, was published in *The Nation* of December 11 under the heading, Twentieth-Century America or Sixteenth-Century Spain?

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the position that membership in the party is a criminal offense, whereas in Colorado and California its action has been based on the assumption that membership in the Communist Party is perfectly legal. Both Judge J. Foster Symes in Denver and Judge Hall in Los Angeles repeatedly assured the witnesses, in reliance on the Schneiderman case, that membership in the Communist Party was not illegal and hence the guaranty against self-incrimination did not apply. There is reason to believe, however, that the Department of Justice hoped to capitalize on this very inconsistency in launching the Denver and Los Angeles blitzes.

On October 21 Tony Smith of the Scripps-Howard syndicate filed a story in Washington in which he said that the Department of Justice had worked out a new legal theory by which the Communist Party could in effect be outlawed without the enactment of such legislation as the Mundt-Nixon bill. The technique, he went on to say, would consist in launching grand-jury investigations in a few key cities and asking officials and members of the Communist Party a series of questions which the government knew they could not answer without running the risk of incriminating themselves. Contempt proceedings would then be used to accomplish indirectly what the government was unwilling to attempt directly—namely, to outlaw the Communist Party. In this oblique manner the government hoped to break up the Communist Party without ever directly facing the issue of whether it could be accomplished constitutionally.

In the first Los Angeles proceeding the ten witnesses were asked such questions as "Do you know the names of the county officers of the Los Angeles County Communist Party? Do you know the table of organization of the Los Angeles County Communist Party? Do you know Ned Sparks?" (probably meaning Nemmy Sparks, secretary of the party in Los Angeles County). To understand why the ten witnesses were entirely within their constitutional rights in refusing to answer these questions, it is necessary to keep certain facts in mind. In the first place, the indictment of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party in New York has two major counts: (1) that the defendants conspired to violate the Smith act by forming the Communist Party; and (2) that they violated the Smith act by mere membership in the Communist Party. Secondly, the Attorney General has ruled, under Executive Order 9835, that the Communist Party is an organization which advocates the overthrow by force and violence of the American form of government. Moreover, the Department of Justice has taken precisely the same position in some recent deportation cases.

Thus it is extremely difficult to escape the conclusion that the Denver and Los Angeles proceedings were instituted on the assumption that the individuals subpoenaed could not and would not answer the questions. This is merely another way of saying that the grand-jury hearings in these cities were not called for the purpose of investigating anything; they were called so that the power to punish for contempt could be used as a substitute for a criminal proceeding.

IN NUMEROUS decisions the Supreme Court has ruled that the Fifth Amendment's guaranty of protection against self-incrimination bars not only questions which on their face involve complicity in a criminal offense but also questions designed to elicit evidence on the basis of which the witness might be shown to have committed a criminal offense. Thus the government, in view of the position it has taken in New York, cannot compel a witness to answer the question "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" since he might thereby incriminate himself. Questions designed to obtain evidence on the basis of which membership might be proved are subject to the same objection if, in the words of Judge Learned Hand, "the chase" promises to get "too hot" or "the scent too fresh."

In the Los Angeles case it is apparent that it would have been perilous for the witnesses to answer the questions, since they were expressly directed to an organization which the government holds to be an unlawful conspiracy. Nor is it necessary to indulge in legal hair-splitting to reach this conclusion. In the Denver proceedings, of which the Los Angeles witnesses and their counsel were well aware, Judge Symes had ruled that a question about membership must be answered, and it was toward this question that the government was directing the interrogation of the Los Angeles witnesses. With the New York proceedings pending, Judge Symes surely gave the Denver witnesses scanty reassurance when he kept telling them that an admission of membership in the Communist Party could not possibly incriminate them.

There is something deeply offensive about the spectacle of federal judges and officials of the Department of Justice sanctimoniously assuring citizens of the United States that they may safely answer questions in a grand-jury proceeding when the same judges and officials are perfectly well aware that the government is acting inconsistently with these assurances in another district. Such conduct is, to put it mildly, hypocritical. But a much graver objection to this type of proceeding is that it sanctions the idea that the Department of Justice, aided by compliant judges, can make criminal an act which Congress has not declared to be a crime. If these proceedings are upheld, freedom of political association will have become a shadowy right indeed. Fortunately, there is every reason to believe that the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals will set aside this cunningly contrived blitz on civil rights.

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Del Vayo—A Guerrillero Speaks

RECENTLY a small boat managed to reach a French port. It contained a number of anti-Franco Spaniards seeking refuge in France—among them, "el Gafas." People who have not forgotten the heroic revolt of the Asturian miners in 1934 will know who this man was. In early days the leader of the Socialist Youth, he was subjected to torture by the Guardia Civil and in consequence lost an eye. After that he wore glasses and was called "el Gafas." His real name is Marcelino Fernandez Villanueva. For the past several years he has been at the head of the Republican guerrillas in León and Galicia. When I learned of his arrival in France I asked him to tell readers of *The Nation* about his experiences. Here is his story in his own words, without any retouching.

You should first remind the Americans, said "el Gafas," that we were in this *fregado* (mess) twelve years. Our movement was born in the mountains eighteen months before the end of the war, when the Republicans lost the northern part of Spain. On October 21, 1937, a number of us got together at Sama de Langreo in Asturias—village leaders and officials. We knew what would happen to us if we fell into the hands of the fascists: there can be no truce with fascism—either you destroy it or you are destroyed. We decided to form a resistance movement, not only to save our lives but for a more important purpose—to draw the enemy's troops away from other fronts.

We took to the mountains well supplied with arms. Mules bore our food and other necessities.

As soon as the fascists had reduced the civil population of the plains to submission, they struck at us in the mountains. They were surprised by the fierce reception they got. In their first encounter with us a lot of them were killed. They avenged their losses by murdering our relatives and friends in the villages.

As the months passed, life in the mountains became more and more difficult. It was hard to cover our tracks, to hide our encampments, to get enough food. Things got worse when the enemy ordered the villages on the tops of the mountains to be evacuated. The entrances of mines which weren't being worked were sealed with cement so that we couldn't use them as shelter in the winter months. While we were being hunted like wild beasts, broadsides were dropped from planes urging us to surrender.

The next winter, 1938-39, opened very dark. Food was terribly scarce. We collected as many horses as we could find and killed them to provide meat for the next few months. While we were salting the flesh to preserve it we were surrounded by Moorish soldiers whom Franco had sent to make an end of us. We met them with hand grenades and managed to break through, taking our wounded with us—but we lost our horse meat.

The supply problem forced us to divide up into smaller and smaller groups. Often we had to fight an enemy ten or twenty times as strong as we were. After one fight I found myself alone; I was sick; my shoes were completely gone. I came upon the tumbledown hut of a company miner and planned to make it my "hospital." But my stay was short. Soon I saw an enemy patrol coming toward the hut—about ten men. I got on to the roof, jumped to the ground behind the hut, and opened fire. When they turned their machine-guns on me, I dropped as if mortally wounded, dragged myself along a short way, then got up and ran as I had never run in my life.

I escaped. But that night, when the local Falange unit found out that the man who had got away was none other than "the chief," they killed fifteen anti-fascists, among them two of my brothers, an uncle, and two cousins.

Once quite a number of us retreated as far as Portugal. We wanted to fight for the United Nations, so we went to the British embassy and asked to join the British army. They told us they had no foreign legion, but if one was formed they would let us know.

If we could not fight in the Allied armies against Hitler, we decided to go back and fight in the mountains. We left our wounded and sick and the oldest of us in Portugal and started toward home—about twenty of us. After walking for a week we reached the celebrated vales of Casayo in the Sierras del Eje.

Comrades who were scattered through the mountains gave us a warm welcome, and as a result of our work among them a guerrilla group was formed which was the basis of the famous Guerrilla Federation of León-Galicia. One of our fundamental principles was to maintain anti-fascist unity; we therefore forbade any effort to get the men to join this or that party. There were neither Socialists nor Communists nor Anarchists among us. It was thanks to this unity that we could continue to exist and make war.

The guerrillas of each province were divided into groups commanded by a chief and two lieutenants chosen at annual meetings. There was iron discipline. We had our own newspaper, *El Guerrillero*.

In 1946 Franco's army launched a new campaign to wipe us out. Fighting went on almost continuously. We had to contend against an expeditionary force of several thousand well-armed troops, supported by Civil Guards, Moors, and Falangists. It was a large-scale operation designed to round up every last one of us. But it failed. After hard fighting the bulk of our men escaped. We were forced to scatter, though, and the centralized guerrilla organization never recovered from the blow. From then on the resistance movement in that part of Spain had to make superhuman efforts to survive. Today the guerrillas are counting their dead, but the spirit which took them to the mountains lives on.

Here "el Gafas" ended his story.

Last summer I wrote an open letter to the British Labor Party asking it to abandon its pro-Franco policy of "non-intervention" in Spain. Today I am sending in this report and repeating my former question: How long will the British Labor Party, with a majority in Parliament, wait before initiating a Spanish policy worthy of a party which considers itself the champion of liberty in Europe?

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What the Assembly Promised

BY HENRI ROLIN

Brussels, January 24

I AM well aware that it requires some boldness to attempt to pass judgment on the session of the United Nations General Assembly at Paris. No one can pretend to knowledge of all the discussions that took place at the hundreds of meetings of committees, subcommittees, and plenary assembly. It is, moreover, rash to commit oneself to writing before one can review one's impressions from a longer perspective.

On first examination the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly seem scarcely to justify the eulogies uttered at the final session by various officials and delegates. In the whole eleven weeks the Assembly did not even touch on the fate of the Italian colonies, or on the question of Franco Spain, or on the treatment of the Hindus in South Africa. Nor did it take any part in the efforts of the Council to settle the problem of Berlin. And even when it did deal with political questions, its conclusions, in most cases, in no way helped to reconcile divergent opinions and represented no real progress toward a solution—as witness the resolutions on Palestine, Korea, the admission of new members, control of atomic energy, and disarmament. Since the debates on any subject were largely taken up with violent exhibitions of the antagonism between the Western and the Eastern powers, the temptation is strong to say that the final balance of the Paris meeting gives a negative result and that the U. N. is bankrupt.

Fortunately, the session accomplished more than a superficial survey would indicate; the debates, even on political questions, were not entirely without significance. First of all it should be recognized that while the passage of the genocide convention by a unanimous vote and of the universal declaration of the rights of man by a large majority may not have immediate results for the millions of human beings now sunk in misery and oppression, in theory these resolutions represent substantial progress. Some day their fruits will be garnered, and even now they would have aroused popular enthusiasm if men's minds had not been dominated by the threat of war.

The genocide convention not only condemns any attack upon a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group with the intention of destroying it, but also imposes on its signatories the obligation to adopt legislation that will both effectively suppress any such attack and insure the punishment of its authors. The declaration of the rights of man, drawing inspiration from certain modern constitutions, is to be commended for including a list of economic rights among those which must receive respect and protection from all peoples.

Praise should also be given to the action of the General Assembly in granting aid to the deported Greek children and the refugees from Palestine. Both resolutions were passed in a spirit of humanity which temporarily stilled political passions. Their benefits are undoubtedly already beginning to be felt by hundreds of thousands of unfortunates.

TURNING to the political resolutions, I cannot myself rejoice at the summary condemnation of Balkan intervention in Greece, when no effort had been made to discover why a large section of the Greek people, including non-Communists, were so violently opposed to the government. Nor was I pleased by the Palestine resolution, which simply replaced the mediator by a conciliation commission, without giving it any directives as to the principles which should guide it or the methods it should use. On the other hand, I am among those who think that though the Assembly did not directly concern itself with the problem of Berlin, it exercised considerable influence on the deliberations of the Security Council, and I believe that these finally took a direction which may give results.

Even with respect to the admission of new members, the Assembly's action was not so unrealistic as at first appeared. It suggested that the Security Council reconsider demands for admission in the light of the opinion expressed by a majority of the International Court of Justice. And in the course of the debate M. Vishinsky, while rejecting the competence of the court, forcefully reaffirmed the substance of its opinion, which was that admission should depend on whether the five conditions specified by the Charter were met. Indeed, according to M. Vishinsky, the majority on the Council, by voting against the admission of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania, were guilty of the sin for which they reproached Russia, since Russia wanted to admit them en bloc, together with Italy. While most of the delegations were unconvinced by this argument, some asked whether there was in truth any political advantage

HENRI ROLIN, president of the Belgian Senate and member of the Belgian delegation at the Paris meeting of the General Assembly, was one of the key figures in the creation of the United Nations at San Francisco.

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in keeping out of the organization certain states whose presence would have been desirable for fear of adding three or four countries to the group of Russian satellites.

The long debates on the control of atomic energy provide in my opinion a very useful analysis of this redoubtable problem. However, the resolution adopted simply ratifies the proposals of the Committee for the Control of Atomic Energy, censures the Russian delegation for not having yielded to the wishes of the majority, recommends that the special committee created by the Security Council continue its work and that the representatives of the powers especially interested seek to reconcile the divergent views which have led to the present impasse. No useful result can be expected from such a sterile attitude.

Led by the American delegation, the committee had decided that creation of an international control organization should be the first step. The Russians' objections were based partly on political, partly on technical considerations. For political reasons they objected to foreign interference in internal matters, on Russian territory, to turning over ownership of mines and plants to a foreign body, and to preponderant American influence in the administrative and control organization. I believe a formula could have been found by which Soviet apprehensions might have been allayed. The committee may have decided too hastily that ownership of raw materials and means of production should be transferred to the international body. As to the alleged American preponderance, it is not clear why that was more to be feared in the committee's plan than in the Soviet counter-proposal.

The primary object of international endeavor, the Russians argued, was the abolition of the atomic bomb. Therefore before the mechanism of control was set up, certain international pledges must be demanded whose observance would be subject to control. Persuasive as this argument seemed, it ran up against the axiom, whose truth had already been acknowledged by Stalin, that no pledge in this domain could be accepted unless there was effective international control. It was for this reason that the Committee on Atomic Energy gave priority to the creation of a control organization.

A synthesis of these opposing views was possible: pledges and prohibitions could be established *simultaneously* with the institution of control. This could be accomplished either by including both in one international act or by passing two separate conventions at the same time. The Russian member of the committee had alluded to this possibility, but when he was invited to be more precise he excused himself. Some weeks later, however, the Soviet delegation proposed the simultaneous adoption of two resolutions—one on the prohibition of the atomic bomb, the other on enforcement of prohibition.

This was indisputable progress. Nevertheless, the solution was superficial, imprecise, and therefore unacceptable. For security as a result of control presupposes the effective functioning of control. And this requires, not that the states in possession of the bomb immediately fulfil their pledge to renounce it, but that there be perfectly parallel timing in the various stages of disarmament and the organization of control. This technical problem is made much more difficult by current suspicions but can be solved by patience, objectivity, and imagination.

Vishinsky

On the initiative of the French delegation the special committee on reduction of armaments of the classic type admitted that a distinction must be made between reduction, which was at present impossible, and regulation, which seemed indispensable. It concluded that it was both possible and necessary to carry out the first step toward disarmament—that is, end the mystery, the nightmare, the menace of secret armaments. The resolution adopted invites the technical committee appointed by the Security Council to submit to the Council a program for regulation based on detailed statements by the various states concerning their land, air, and naval armaments, these statements to be verified by an ad hoc control committee operating within the framework of the Security Council.

Of course this resolution, like so many others, encountered the passionate opposition of the half-dozen delegations led by M. Vishinsky. Their opposition was made manifest in a summons to the leading powers to engage without condition to reduce their armaments by a third, while at the same time the Security Council should attempt, without any guaranty of success, to set up a control organization. It is clear that as long as this group of states persists in such an attitude no effective progress can be made toward solving the capital problem of reduction of armaments. But one may still hope that Moscow will finally recognize the good faith of the Paris proposals and join in their execution.

AS EVERYBODY knows, it is the antagonism between the East and the West which has blocked all action by the United Nations. Until the international atmosphere undergoes a profound change no progress in the political field can be hoped for. Nevertheless, the General Assembly has again demonstrated that in a different cli-

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mate of opinion mediation by a large group of truly independent and disinterested states could be of real help in settling disputes that may arise between the great powers.

This does not mean that the organization born at San Francisco has no faults. In the first place, the Paris meeting amply illustrated the unreasonableness of giving equal voting strength, in both the General Assembly and the Security Council, to two powers so different in importance as the United States and San Salvador, Russia and Iceland. Resolutions for the expenditure of large sums have been voted by majorities composed of representatives of states which would contribute less than 5 per cent. The same foolish equality of votes was responsible—with the complicity of the United States, it is true—for the acceptance of Spanish as one of the working languages, which will leave us with no argument against similar demands by Russia and China. The more languages used the more the administrative machinery is slowed up.

Administrative difficulties are already only too apparent, and persons familiar with the League of Nations draw comparisons between the procedures followed in the two organizations which are unfavorable to the U. N. In the first place, the agenda is overcrowded: innumerable proposals are accepted for discussion regardless of the impossibility of getting to them in any reasonable time. Next, there is an excess of publicity. To have the Security Council meet on the stage of a theater is not serious. But to publish the debates of subcommittees and drafting committees is not only an incitement to oratorical excursions but a serious obstacle to conciliatory approaches and frank exchange of views.

Finally, I do not know of a parliament in the world which tolerates such excesses of language as were heard in Paris. In this respect also only painful comparisons can be drawn with Geneva. At Paris the attempts of Dr. Evatt to induce his colleagues to speak more moderately were very badly received. It seems as if a change in the rules to give the president more power to enforce restrictions would be helpful.

To sum up, the General Assembly of the United Nations was revealed as rich in possibilities and full of promise. But if it is to be equal to its task the statesmen responsible must learn how to use it more effectively and improve its procedures.

China: the Communists' Plan

BY ANDREW ROTH

Peiping, January 28, by Cable

THERE is an old Chinese proverb: "Know yourself and know your enemy, and in a hundred battles gain a hundred victories." Nanking's politicians, however, have been as perplexed about what the future has in store for them as a girl on the eve of her first blind date. Their bewilderment scarcely seems necessary, for the Chinese Communists are among the most prolific publicists in the world. By checking their voluminous literature against the reports of competent observers who have come out of Communist-held territory, one gets a fairly clear picture of the policies of the group already governing two hundred million people and shortly to govern more.

Mao Tse-tung's eight conditions for peace talks, announced recently, make it clear that the Communists are more interested in a thoroughgoing domestic housecleaning and a pro-Soviet redirection of foreign policy than in a quick peace. These conditions include the trial of virtually all the Kuomintang leaders as "war criminals" and their exclusion from a future Communist-led coalition government, cancelation of the present Kuomintang-devised constitution, confiscation of the wealth of the Kungs and Soongs, land reforms, and the end of "treacherous treaties" with the United States. A few Nanking leaders were stung to last-ditch resistance by the severity of these terms, but most of them hastened to follow their securities and limousines to Formosa or America.

The Communists intend to use the peace conditions and the black lists to reshape the face of China. There has been much meaningless controversy over whether China's Communists are full-fledged Stalinists or merely agrarian democrats. Stalin himself nourished the illusion of their democracy by telling the American envoy, Donald Nelson, that Chinese Communists were "like radishes, red on the outside, white on the inside." The truth is that Chinese Communists are theoretical Marxists of the Lenin-Stalin school whose tactics and timing have been conditioned by their quarter-century of work in the Chinese countryside. As Marxists they think that society progresses from feudalism through capitalism to socialism. China, they believe, is now largely feudal, particularly in the rural regions, with capitalist influence in the port cities. In their opinion China has remained semi-feudal and under-industrialized partly because of the interest of the Western powers and Japan in keeping it as a vast market and partly because of the power of the

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landlord-merchant-speculator class in the village and the "bureaucratic capitalists" of the city. "Bureaucratic capitalists" is a fancy name for the "four favored families"—the Soongs, Kungs, Chiangs, and Chens—which have amassed huge fortunes, not by producing, but by controlling the government apparatus. Communist peace conditions and black lists will decapitate this class, at least figuratively. No one can hope to survive if the Communists consider him bound up with the "remnants of feudalism" in China's economy or an obstacle to their attempt to end Nanking's "subservience" to Washington.

MAO does not think China can be taken directly from semi-feudalism into socialism. In his pamphlet "On Coalition Government" he has stated flatly: "Without a New Democratic, united state, without the economic development of a New Democratic nation, without the development of a private-capitalist and cooperative economy and of a national, scientific, popular—that is, New Democratic—culture, without the emancipation and development of the individuality of millions of people, in short, without a complete democratic revolution, any attempt to establish socialism in China would be a utopian dream."

"The reform of the agrarian system," Mao declared last April, "is the main content of China's New Democratic revolution. The general line of the agrarian reform is . . . to eliminate systematically and discriminatingly the feudal system of exploitation and develop agricultural production." By the "feudal system of exploitation" the Communists mean the setup by which a small group of landlord-merchant-speculators, about 5 per cent of the village population, squeeze the working farmers. This group owns almost half the land, exacts rents of about 60 per cent of the crops, charges usurious interest ranging as high as 60 per cent, and piles up profits by hoarding its share of the harvest during famine periods. These old-style landlords do not use any of their wealth to improve the land. And they keep tenants so close to starvation that they cannot afford good seed, adequate fertilizer, or enough simple implements to reach maximum productivity. The Communists believe that if the peasants are given the landlords' land and if their interest and tax burdens are reduced, they will have some surplus to reinvest in land improvement and thus increase production.

The confiscation and transfer of land have been accompanied by a political purge in villages the Communists have occupied. Formerly the villages were controlled by a Kuomintang appointee representing the interests of the landlord-speculator-merchant class. Now the Communists have taken over and are governing through the poor and middle peasants, school teachers, and certain merchants. A number of landlords and rich peasants have been stripped not only of their land but of their other possessions. A few landlords accused of collaborating with the Japanese or the Kuomintang police have been executed.

This purge in the countryside apparently went "too far," arousing popular opposition and reducing production. Last April Mao Tse-tung attacked this tendency as a "leftist deviation" and warned against forgetting "such an extremely [important] strategic principle as the fact that it is possible and necessary for us in agrarian reform work . . . to establish a united front against the feudal system." He cautioned that the people must "feel that our work is entirely reasonable."

Mao Tse-tung Seligson

Communist policy toward the cities has a single dominant purpose—production. In a number of important cases Communist generals have delayed taking a city because they hoped to get its industries intact without fighting. Their preliminary propaganda barrages urge the workers and engineers to stay at their posts, and when their troops enter a town, they race to the important plants to prevent destruction.

WHILE the Communists are determined to liquidate the *bureaucratic* capitalists, they have made it clear both in their program and by their actions in captured cities that for the time being they look with favor upon private *industrial* capitalists. Apparently they realize that until China is able to build large state-owned industries it must depend on government-supervised but privately owned factories to provide essential goods. In his April speech Mao Tse-tung warned against "infringing" upon commerce or industry and against "hitting at industry and commerce in the field of tax policy." Recent reports from Tsinan, Mukden, and other industrial centers indicate that the Communist leaders have made every effort to maintain pleasant relations with factory owners. They believe they can keep the support of Chinese industrialists because peace and agrarian reforms will greatly enlarge the domestic market.

Many people have affected surprise that Mao should have insisted on the abrogation of the "treacherous treaties" with America as a peace condition. The Communists, however, have long made it clear that they wished to withdraw China from the American side of the "cold war." And, more important, they have greatly feared that through the influence of the United States a

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"fifth column" would manage to get into the coalition government they plan for China. Their suspicions were heightened by one of the late Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang's last letters, in which he wrote that the State Department had offered him heavy inducements if he would split with his Communist allies. Surprise at seeing Vice-President Li Tsung-jen's name on the December list of war criminals was equally unreasonable, for the Communists consider him America's leading candidate to sabotage a Communist-led coalition.

REPORTS on future Communist policy have filtered into Peiping from Harbin and Shihchiachuang, where the Communists have been holding preliminary talks with representatives of the Democratic League, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee of Marshal Li Chi-sen, and other non-Communist liberal and left opponents of the Kuomintang. Fragmentary accounts of these discussions indicate that the Communists will limit themselves to two-fifths of the seats in the coalition Cabinet; these will be, it may be presumed, the key posts.

About two months ago the Communists proposed that the coalition Cabinet should represent five elements—the Communist Party, the Democratic League and other minority groups, the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, non-party leaders (probably including representatives of the ethnic minorities), and peasant and labor-union leaders. Since a separate place is reserved for the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee as distinguished from other minority parties, this group will probably inherit the Kuomintang Party apparatus. The Communists can afford to limit themselves to less than a majority of the Cabinet because they have a disciplined party of about three million members and a victorious army of over two million men.

No substantial differences on immediate objectives divide the Communists and their liberal allies. Mao Tse-tung's policies do not call for socialism but for a prolonged transition period—the so-called "New Democracy"—during which China is to be moved out of the Middle Ages. Mao feels China will remain a "New Democracy" for as much as fifty years, while a sufficient economic base for socialism is being prepared.

Instead of following a pro-Soviet foreign policy immediately, the Communists will probably begin to withdraw China from the American orbit by attacking American plans to rebuild Japan. In this course they will receive very wide support in China. It is also thought that they may denounce the Yalta agreements which gave Russia special rights in Port Arthur and Dairen—this rumor is unconfirmed but seems reasonable. Such a move would gain the Communists tremendous favor in China, boost their stock in the eyes of the West, and still not hurt Russia's strategic interests, since all Manchuria is now in hands friendly to the Soviets.

EYEWITNESS TO HISTORY

ONE of the greatest revolutions the world has seen is now taking place in China, a country of over four million square miles with nearly half a billion people. At this dramatic moment one of the few Western reporters on the spot is Andrew Roth, The Nation's *Asia correspondent. Mr. Roth is reporting from the heart of Red China. His present base of operations, Peiping, will probably become the new capital of China.*

For more than two years readers of The Nation *have appreciated Mr. Roth's significant dispatches from Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, Ceylon, Siam, India, Iraq, Iran—focal points of a continent in turmoil. Few American reporters are better equipped than he to interpret the events now taking place in China. The editors of* The Nation *feel fortunate in having the exclusive opportunity to present Mr. Roth's reports on China during the coming weeks.*

These developments are likely to come as a surprise to Western observers, many of whom have mechanically anticipated a Communist-led coalition in China modeled on the regimes set up in the Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe. At the most they have hoped that Mao might become another Tito. They have ignored the many important distinctions between the Chinese Communists and the Communist parties of Eastern Europe. China, unlike the satellite states, was not liberated from an invader by the Russians. Although the Chinese Communists credit the Russians with smashing the crack Japanese Kwantung army in Manchuria, they acknowledge that the major blows, particularly on the sea and in the air, were American. They feel that they themselves engaged the largest group of Japanese land troops, while the Kuomintang troops mostly sat out the war.

In addition, China's Communists, not being Slavs, have none of the strong linguistic and cultural links to Russia of which most Eastern Europeans are conscious. Instead, they have a strong pride in China's ancient culture, and a belief in China's importance which has been handed down through the centuries; the ancient name for China, "Chung Kuo," is translated literally as "Central Country," meaning that China is the center of the world. Many young Chinese have become Communists because they feel that the Communists' plans for industrialization and modernization will enable China to take its rightful place as a world power.

For Western diplomats, uneasy over the full implications of the Chinese Communist victory, there is one small consolation: the Soviets also seem to be more than a little anxious about future developments here.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Dreiser Undone

THEODORE DREISER, APOSTLE OF NATURE. By Robert Elias. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

MR. ELIAS had the sort of opportunity critics dream about. He was to write the first critical biography of America's most influential twentieth-century novelist (the one previous study being both dated and silly); he was to deal with a writer whose work, having suffered critical neglect, badly needs re-examination. What is more, he had the immense advantage of having held lengthy conversations with Dreiser from 1937 to 1945. And yet Mr. Elias has failed almost completely. Were he unknowing or unintelligent or insensitive, it would hardly matter; but he is none of these. His is a failure of method.

Mr. Elias is painstaking; he has unearthed valuable material about Dreiser's life; his early chapters on childhood and youth suffer, as perhaps they must, from comparison with Dreiser's own accounts, but they do convey something of the tight and dreary atmosphere of Middle Western life in the late nineteenth century. Here are the patterns we have come to consider typical: the poverty-stricken family wandering from town to town and held together only by the will of the mother; the schism between the hopelessly religious father and his amoral children; the agonies of young Dreiser's sex life, his sense of guilt and his fear of impotence; then the break, the flight to the city, and there the loneliness and hunger, clumsiness and ambition, first beginnings. It is so American, this story which reads like a naturalistic novel, a plodding, powerful *Erziehungsroman* by Dreiser or Farrell. There is in truth something mythical in Dreiser's career, but one wishes Mr. Elias had also tried for a finer analysis of Dreiser's particular experience so that he would not seem too much like one of his own heroes.

After a good section on Dreiser's early experience as a journalist, Mr. Elias uses most of his remaining space on Dreiser's intellectual history. He apparently assumes that Dreiser's ideas are *in themselves* of consequence, and therefore traces in painful detail the convolutions of his notions about nature, ethics, and society. Dreiser picked up most of the ideas dominant in the America of 1895-1905. He read Herbert Spencer and succumbed to his pseudo-realistic extension of Darwinian categories to social life.

Young Dreiser's ideas were shared by many other Americans; yet as Mr. Elias treats them they seem an unmotivated and inexplicable lump of doctrine. He makes no attempt to relate them to Dreiser's life-situation or to the society in which Dreiser found himself; he says nothing about the thesis, advanced by Richard Hofstadter in his "Social Darwinism in American Thought," that "American society saw its own image in the tooth-and-claw version of natural selection . . . its dominant groups were thus able to dramatize this vision of competition as a good thing in itself." This remark is by now hardly novel, but Mr. Elias quite ignores its implications in his discussion of Dreiser's social-Darwinist ideas.

Similarly, Mr. Elias neglects what could be another means of placing Dreiser's ideas. For reasons that have never been completely explored, the late nineteenth century developed in the Middle West a large number of intellectual cranks. (I do not use the term merely in a pejorative sense; some of our best writers have been cranks.) "Spencer," notes Hofstadter, was "the metaphysician" of this sort of "home-made intellectual, and the prophet of the cracker-barrel agnostic." Dreiser was a typical intellectual crank—though not only that, of course; witness the weird list of subjects on which he wrote in his youthful days, his letter to H. L. Mencken in 1939 in which he said, "I suspect that Hitler is correct; the President [Roosevelt] may be part Jewish," and his remark that "Stalin was a truly spiritual person" because "he had wept at Lenin's funeral." To have discussed this aspect of his mind, especially in its relation to his creative work, would have been a fascinating project; Mr. Elias has not done it.

Equally unsatisfactory is Mr. Elias's discussion of Dreiser's later turn to radicalism. It is curious that in the late 1920's, when there was perhaps still a slight spark of Socialist independence in the American Communist movement, Dreiser resisted it ideologically while cooperating with intellectuals who adhered to it. But as the Communist movement became bureaucratized and Stalinized, Dreiser found himself in closer sympathy and then joined it.

James T. Farrell has written that "despite the lack of political clarity which led him to defend Stalin's regime and the Moscow trials [Dreiser] served as one of the most powerful liberating forces in twentieth-century American literature and social thinking." In so far as Dreiser fought against censorship, helped widen the permissible areas of experience depicted in novels, and made Americans more conscious of the quality of their lives, Farrell's statement is true. But it skirts a real problem: if Dreiser was a "powerful liberating force," how could he succumb to a movement so inhumane and reactionary as Stalinism? Why did his sensitive nose for humbug close up just at this point? Farrell seems to feel that Dreiser joined the Communist Party merely, or largely, to repudiate "the values of bourgeois America." Perhaps; but why did Dreiser choose this particularly unhappy means of repudiation *after* most radical intellectuals had broken away from Stalinism? One wonders, consequently, if there might have been some connection between Dreiser's earlier social Darwinism and his later Stalinism, some common chord of motivation? And what relationship was there between these two doctrines and the notions of "The Bulwark"? Mr. Elias has nothing to say on all this. I do not object to his failure to answer these difficult questions; I object to his failure to ask them.

Finally, Mr. Elias has adopted the curious procedure of writing a book about a novelist without discussing his novels. This I find hair-raising. The major acts of great writers, and even of not so great writers, are their writings; the major job of critics is to analyze and evaluate those writings. Otherwise, who cares why Dreiser held

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one idea or another, did one thing or another? But Mr. Elias gives us nothing except two or three pages of plot summaries, and very skimpy ones, of the novels. This is especially exasperating because Dreiser, more than most American writers, needs fresh criticism. I did not have the opportunity to reread all his novels before writing this review, but I have gone through the Cowperwood series closely enough to see that most of the old standby criticisms of Dreiser—such as, he was a clumsy oaf, he was a liberating genius—won't do. But Mr. Elias blandly says that whether Dreiser "is a genius or a giant, and whether he wrote great novels, the present book does not attempt to decide." That is not a modest statement of limitation; it is a confession of irrelevance.

IRVING HOWE

Gandhi's Experiments

GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By M. K. Gandhi. Translated from the original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai. Public Affairs Press. $5.

MAHATMA GANDHI. An Interpretation. By E. Stanley Jones. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. $2.

THROUGHOUT India January 30, the day on which Mohandas K. Gandhi was assassinated last year, was dedicated to prayer, "sacrificial spinning, and social service." And throughout the world Indians and friends of India gathered on that day to honor the little man who awakened India, eventually moved the British Empire, and in years to come may yet vitalize the world with the audacious simplicity of his spiritual weapons. He was Indian to his core, and his immediate objective was the renaissance of his own subject people, yet his vision was never chauvinistic or exclusively focused on India; it embraced humanity.

This is an appropriate moment to call attention to "Gandhi's Autobiography," recently published for the first time in the United States. Written in Gujarati, Gandhi's native tongue, about twenty-five years ago, the book was titled by Gandhi "The Story of My Experiments with Truth." The American edition is based on the English version brought out by an Indian publisher in 1941. It seems strange indeed that almost eight years slipped by before this remarkable self-revelation by one of the greatest men of our time—perhaps of all time—was made available to the American reading public. The explanation given is that Gandhi's close English friend, C. F. Andrews, considered publication of the complete biography ill-advised because of "a fulness of detail that was embarrassing from the standpoint of general interest among readers far removed from the peculiar circumstances of Indian life and history."

Obviously the obstacle considered insurmountable for our chaste society was Gandhi's intimate story of his marital relations and his long struggle to free himself of all sexual passion, ending in his taking the vow of *bramacharya* (chastity) in 1906 when he was thirty-seven years old. Gandhi never got over the shame of his child marriage, which was consummated when he was thirteen. It was the one thing for which he always censured his parents, even though he forgave them and finally settled down into a beautiful companionship with his wife, the willing partner, especially in middle and later years, in all his struggles and "experiments with truth." My younger Indian friends, many now taking postgraduate degrees at American universities, tell me how absorbed they were in the autobiography in their early teens, and how deeply it impressed them. Certainly to American youth, nourished on sexual screen dramas, Gandhi's autobiography would be a cleansing bath.

Gandhi never concealed his faults as he discerned them. He told all and considered himself a frail mortal striving, always striving, toward more spiritual enlightenment. It was far from his desire that the Indian people should regard him as a saint, as he proves in this book by his humble admission of many failures. When he returned to India after years of working to improve conditions for Indians in South Africa, he was hailed on all sides as "the Mahatma." This was not to his taste. He preferred the simple "bhai" [brother] by which many of the indentured laborers of Natal had addressed him. And he said wistfully, "The woes of Mahatmas are known to Mahatmas alone."

The autobiography carries the reader through Gandhi's childhood and youth in India, the three years in England when he was as much occupied in testing out his vegetarian diet as in studying law for the bar, the South African period during which he laid both the practical and spiritual foundations of his future work in India. The book ends in 1921, after the Amritsar massacres, after Gandhi has found his ideal spinning wheel. In the South African section he says, "It has always been a mystery to me how men can feel themselves honored by the humiliation of their fellow-beings." But he rose above all the humiliations and sufferings imposed on his people and on himself in South Africa and India, and he lived long enough to see his country free of the foreign yoke.

It is to be hoped that other writings of Gandhi, properly edited and more adequately proofread than the autobiography, will be brought out in American editions to make possible a well-rounded, critical study of the man who became a movement and helped restore the dignity of an ancient people to which the world is indebted for much that is of permanent value in modern civilization.

Dr. E. Stanley Jones, the Christian evangelist who has devoted a great part of his life to missionary work in India, arrived in Delhi the day that Gandhi was murdered, and had planned an appointment with him. His little volume is a generous appreciation of Gandhi and of what he meant to India and to the world.

In the course of some thirty odd years Dr. Jones had many meetings with Gandhi, and his book has significance because of the personal glimpses it affords into Gandhi's character and reactions. One is grateful to Dr. Jones for including in its entirety the magnificent statement of Gandhi at the time of his first trial and imprisonment and the reluctant decision of the British judge before whom Gandhi was tried.

As Dr. Jones says, he himself is first and above all the Christian evangelist, and from his own account it may be assumed that many of his visits to Gandhi were undertaken in the effort to convert him to Christianity. It is a bit of a strain for Dr. Jones to recognize that the goodness he admires in Gandhi could be possible without Christianity or at least strong Christian influence. However, Dr. Jones heroically

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accepts Gandhi as a Hindu with the reservation that "a deep strain of Christian thought and attitude" runs "through him and his life," and by explaining that "the Mahatma was a natural Christian rather than an orthodox one." Gandhi, like many non-Christians, felt the spiritual and ethical depths of the Sermon on the Mount, but he was fundamentally and consistently a Hindu, who derived as much inspiration from the Bhagavad-Gita, which he always kept beside him, as does a devout Christian from the New Testament.

ELSIE WEIL

Painter of Indians

PURSUIT OF THE HORIZON. A Life of George Catlin, Painter and Recorder of the American Indian. By Loyd Haberly. The Macmillan Company. $5.

IN APRIL, 1832, the steamboat Yellowstone sailed from St. Louis for the headwaters of the river whose name it bore. In this vessel bound for the outermost limits of the American frontier was a young artist named George Catlin who had, as he said, left his practice as "a sort of nimrodical lawyer" in order to "rescue from oblivion the looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America." Catlin is the hero of "Pursuit of the Horizon" by Loyd Haberly, who traces the career of this painter to the Indians from his first visits to the tribes of the Missouri until his neglected and bitter death forty years later.

"I have for a long time been of the opinion," Catlin wrote, "that the wilderness of our country afforded models equal to those from which the Grecian sculptors transferred to marble such inimitable grace and beauty." Such confusion of the noble red man with the glories of Greece is a kind of cliché of the Romantic movement that stems from the confusion of Rousseau's "child of nature" and his admiration for the purity and unperverted innocence of Greek civilization. We are reminded of that proto-romantic, the young Benjamin West, comparing the Apollo Belvedere to a Mohawk brave. When Catlin took a troop of Indians to Paris to exhibit them, the great Delacroix himself exclaimed that they recalled the beauty of antique marbles. It must be pointed out that the creation of the ideal of the noble savage was destined to be stillborn in the America of the nineteenth century. Except for romantics like Catlin who were compelled by an overwhelming *Wanderlust* to explore the remote and unknown and ennoble what they found there, the dangers of frontier life, the horrid details of Indian massacres and treachery were everywhere too proximate to endear the red man to the pioneers. Also, he interfered with the "westward course of empire."

George Catlin was a thorough romanticist in his glorification of the Indian. He did his best not only to record but to ennoble the subjects of his portraits—as, for example, Osceola, whom he painted after we had treacherously captured the famous chief in our glorious war against the Seminoles. Catlin saw the march of civilization as a march of extermination, in which "the first enemy that must fall is man, and his like cannot be replaced from any other part of the globe." As an artist Catlin may be regarded as a specifically American painter, not only because he was entirely trained in America, but also for his recording of the specific look of scenes and action distinctively American, his fondness for depicting the kind of drama that could take place only in America.

Just as Catlin's written descriptions of the great rivers and prairies—"the huge and terrible deformity of waters . . . a place where the painter's palette would lose its beautiful tints"—are strangely suggestive of the exotic accounts of the American wilderness by Châteaubriand and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, his paintings are not entirely reportage; they are the pictorial counterparts of this literary style through the psychological heightening of action and landscape by the use of lurid colors and eerie distortions of form and silhouette. This characteristic of Catlin's art is brought out particularly well by Mr. Haberly in his analysis of the Mandan torture scenes.

All in all, Mr. Haberly's book is a fascinating documentation of an interesting figure in American art and science. It belongs in a sense to the realm of romantic biography rather than art criticism: in spite of the author's real enthusiasm for Catlin's paintings, the reader finishes the book with

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a fine, clear-cut portrait of Catlin the man and only a secondary and general impression of the character of the vast number of examples of Catlin's neglected œuvre.

The illustrations, unfortunately all too few, are well chosen and well reproduced. Students of this phase of American nineteenth-century painting will be grateful for the list of the present locations of Catlin's surviving pictures. BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

The English-speaking World

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES. A Modern History. By Edgar McInnis and J. H. S. Reid. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE world's war and peace of the past thirty-five years make a history of the English-speaking peoples seem desirable, but the distance between the idea and its realization is enormous. You can bridge it encyclopedia-wise by collecting the histories of the separate groups one after another. You can advance a little beyond that by chopping time into sections and deploying your peoples in line, instead of in column, at set periods down to the present. This allows for comparisons as information about each piles up, but comparisons are only mildly useful. It is the third step, the history of relationships, which are immensely influential, that seems to be impossibly difficult purely in terms of the mechanics of exposition. You can manage two elements easily enough, or three with some difficulty, but beyond that number about the only way to display the accumulating and varying values of the many elements singly *and* in combination would be a particularly messy algebraic equation.

The Canadian authors of this book transcend the encyclopedic by periodic historical deployments and comparisons of the English-speaking peoples down through time since about 1600. Mr. Reid has some trouble getting the story rolling; indeed throughout the book he can hardly equal his practiced partner in pace and rhythm, but about a quarter of the way into the volume (by 1815) their narrative has acquired a momentum which carries it quite well over the bumps of inevitable chronological inversions and occasional premature allusions. Since the authors are well informed, judicious in their selection of weighty factors, and distribute their space in reasonable proportions, the reader comes away with the major elements of today's English-speaking world firmly rooted in time and compared in development. But it will be pretty much up to him to weigh them, measure their attraction and repulsion, and work out his own estimate of their effective cohesion and influence on earth today.

The prevailing tone is detached rather than hortatory, radical, or conservative. Controversy is avoided at the price of some contradictions and doubtful judgments. None of the errors which I detected seems of much importance except perhaps the reiteration on page 127 of the myth of "a completely unfortified boundary" between the United States and Canada, and on pages 134-5 and elsewhere of some myths of British laissez faire, particularly in connection with Bentham. The maps are clear and good except for the one on page 247, which contains a couple of mistakes in spelling, fails to indicate the importance of the Rideau-Ottawa canal system, and completely omits the Champlain canals which finally pulled western Vermont out of the St. Lawrence system into the Hudson system. An American reader would be struck by relative Canadian insensitivity to the Pacific area and would wish that the last two pages of the book might have been written after last November's election. The "selected bibliography" is a makeshift, perhaps a necessary one, but it fails either to indicate the immense scholarship of others with which the authors have made themselves familiar or to guide readers to it.

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Fiction in Review

BECAUSE Edward Newhouse's "The Hollow of the Wave" (Sloane, $3.50) wears no air of importance but only an air of decent pride, is entirely understandable and even lively, it must be singled out from the run of current fiction: these are rare, if relative, virtues. I can add that it is some time since I have read a novel whose author comes through his prose and his people so attractively. Even where Mr. Newhouse's manner is less than salient and his characters far less dimensional than they should be, we see the former fault as a defect of modesty and the latter as a defect of kindliness.

"The Hollow of the Wave" is about some men and women in and around a Communist-dominated reprint house in New York. The group includes a millionaire angel, with whose portrait Mr. Newhouse is most successful; a typography man, who tells the story in the first person and thereby borrows

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from his author a certain credibility to which he is not wholly entitled in his own fictional right; a pair of party stooges, convincing as shadows of the authority they serve but unconvincing as human beings; some believable wives; some assorted minor figures of various political complexion. Involved with one another and their jobs, these people turn out to be essentially involved with the problem of personal salvation; and personal salvation turns out to be a problem of power. For the comrades the solution is simple—alliance with the supernal strength of the party. For the wealthy connections of Larry Holland, Mr. Newhouse's troubled young millionaire, salvation is also available—theirs is the force of intrenched class and political reaction. But Holland and Mr. Newhouse's narrator can find no such easy way out. They are the men of the humanist tradition for whom present-day society provides no clearly defined line of feeling and action. Impotent to command even their women, they are themselves commanded and happy only when carried along in a war whose principles engage them. The war ends, and they drift back into the army to wait out the quiet days before being picked up in the next conflict. As for the women of "The Hollow of the Wave," they suffer the usual minority fate. As dependents of an ascendant power they find an at least temporary satisfaction; as dependents of a dispossessed caste they are themselves unpossessed and miserable.

Read this way, Mr. Newhouse's novel is of course a neat parable of the contemporary personal-political dilemma—but rather too neat in the opinion of this reviewer, who does not believe that people are so directly the product of their political condition and who believes, what is more, that fiction is suicidal as well as murderous when it so patly delivers human beings over to their political destinies. But the book need not be read as parable; it can be read as the play of a pleasant personality—and this is Mr. Newhouse's sweet small victory: despite its oversimplified thinking, his novel is such nice civilized company. If, intellectually, Mr. Newhouse is so much too persuaded of the power our political situation can exercise over the human spirit, the triumph of his own spirit over this intellectual

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assumption is surely a telling argument against him—for it suggests how far people can move beyond the boundaries into which we try to fence them. But, then, I suspect the author of "The Hollow of the Wave" is too modest a man to generalize himself into a counter-principle.

There is a certain kinship between Mr. Newhouse's book and David Davidson's "The Hour of Truth" (Random House, $3). The new novel by the author of "The Steeper Cliff" is also a sweet-intentioned performance and uncommonly readable—swift, lively, dramatic. Its political content is more open than that of "The Hollow of the Wave"; indeed, in a sense, it is a pedagogic book, though without the didactic tone we have come to associate with novels that have a lesson to teach. Mr. Davidson is writing about one of the more backward South American countries—he calls it Alba—and the nature of our neighborly relations with it. Perhaps he tells us no more than most liberals might have guessed of the behind-the-scenes story of our recent benevolent policy, but he tells it pungently and usefully, documenting his case with excellent reporting of what life is like in Alba, both natively and by importation. Early in the war America sends a mission to Alba with a million-dollar budget and a fine program of benefits. The Albanese, for the most part, are cynical and respectful; they have reason to be at least the former. By the end of "The Hour of Truth," it is clear that the redemption of Alba has been made the bounty of a group of men who are themselves in sore need of redemption.

The account of the personal evolution of the men who make up the American mission is beautifully relevant to Mr. Davidson's political intention: with the exception of William Harmon, the young lawyer who is the book's central character, each member of the group, far from staying the selfless savior he originally appears to be, betrays himself as a corrupt or corruptible weakling who naturally gravitated to a section of the globe which is so depressed that, in contrast, he seems strong. The picture of the mission is thus a very effective dramatization, in human terms, of the unsound motives which animate even the nobler gestures of imperialism, and one could wish Mr. Davidson had not diverted so much of his energy to a secondary story, the story of Harmon's search for his lost manhood. Instead of supporting Harmon's weight as moral representative of his author, this synthetic, cinematic counter-plot seriously reduces it. Long subdued by the seemingly predatory females of his family, Harmon has become impotent; he regains his sexual power in an affair with a South American beauty bred in the Latin tradition of female docility, and then, from the vantage of his renewed sexual confidence, is able to make a fresh assessment of North American women. I have no doubt that in a person like Harmon there exists a very legitimate connection between sexual and other kinds of integrity; but the terms of Mr. Davidson's research into Harmon's psychological predicament are quite inadequate to the terms in which he wishes us to see his protagonist's development in other spheres of feeling.

And if it would have been well if Mr. Davidson had not yielded to the temptation of romancing with the sexual psyche, it would have been well, too, if he had not yielded to another, more subtle pressure of literary fashion. I like books in which men learn to be heroes; I think the quest for greatness—internal greatness—is an eminently proper subject for fiction. But the novelist who nowadays deals with it must beware a peculiar pitfall prepared for him by our culture— the sentimental danger of supposing that an individual comes to moral stature merely by identifying himself with the righteous cause of an oppressed people. For the fact is that a person is not necessarily as big as his cause may be right. In a novel as in life, all assumptions of contemporary fiction to the contrary notwithstanding, it is not enough that a Harmon ally himself with the corruption-ridden against the corrupters in order to achieve personal grandeur. It is not even enough that, at the end of the story, he at some risk take a dramatic stand on the side of justice. In fiction as in reality he must have what I would call the *style* of greatness. Even his weaknesses, and they can be major, must speak in a language which implies at least the possibility of a true distinction of moral character. Mr. Davidson's prose, for all its pace and color, is unable to confer this gift of distinction on either Harmon or Hidalgo, the Albanese drunkard-martyr to whose size Harmon tries to grow. The result is that both Harmon and Hidalgo, at even their best final moments, seem to be striking the pose of heroism rather than reaching an inevitably grand consummation.

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and race riots. Given these factors—the influx of illiterate Catholic immigrants accustomed to a folk culture antithetical to our own, faced with deeply rooted animosities, employed for the most part in migratory jobs and living in labor camps cut off from contact with our own way of life—it was inevitable that injustices should be many and assimilation slow. The publication of this fair and illuminating book should help us realize our responsibilities and attempt to correct our failures.

OKINAWA: THE LAST BATTLE. By Roy E. Appleman, James M. Burns, Russell A. Gugeler, and John Stevens. Historical Division, Department of the Army. $6. A clear, candid, and extremely detailed account by combat historians of one of the most bitterly contested battles of the Pacific war, lavishly illustrated with photographs and maps. This is the first operational history to be published in the definitive series of volumes which the army has under way. If other volumes are as good as this the series will be an invaluable mine of information for the historian.

THE LIFE OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE. By John Dickson Carr. Harper. $3.50. A lively, readable biography of the energetic doctor who created Sherlock Holmes. A definitive life based on family papers but written in free and easy style.

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE Alsatian constructor and sculptor, Hans (or Jean) Arp is at the very least a great minor artist. The future may come, perhaps, to regard him as a major one because of his role as innovator and first master in modern art of the silhouetted shape against a flat background. But if we consider who led the way in modern art and who followed, who produced monumental works and who exquisite ones, who exploited as well as discovered and who only exploited or only discovered, then Arp does not seem quite to deserve being called major. He is, nevertheless, one of the most brilliant items in evidence of contemporary art's enduring vitality.

The influence of cubism brought him out as a collagist, during the 1914-18 war. Previously, at a time when he was still a painter, Kandinsky had introduced him to the possibility of an abstract art. But it was the collage, issuing from the inventive hands of Picasso and Braque, that definitely revealed him to himself. Arp's subsequent development from collage to bas-relief and then to sculpture in the full round is the best example—up to a point—of the way in which modern Western sculpture has succeeded in detaching itself from its own tradition and striking root in cubist painting, where it has found a new source and principle of form. Arp's sculpture, like that of Brancusi and Lipchitz, is at the same time, however, subject to an equivocation that prevents it from being the ideal paradigm of the evolution of that medium in the twentieth century. The next aesthetically logical step from the bas-relief construction that grew out of the cubist collage was to an entirely new, open, linear, pictorial kind of sculpture whose premise was no longer the natural-hued monolith but the three-dimensional, colored construction in a variety of materials. The work of art here was no longer a *statue,* but an *object.* When Arp in the early thirties, after having practiced bas-relief in wood and other materials, went over into full sculpture, it was not the kind of thing one would have anticipated from his previous development. He returned to the monolithic statue, to a form of carving in stone and modeling in plaster and metal that had little to do with the sharply differentiated planes, the applied colors, and the occasional transparency that had marked—and still mark—his bas-reliefs.

What was modern in this return to the statue—here Brancusi had already shown the way—was the reduction of the monolith to a simple, quasi-geometrical, ovular form, qualified now and then by protuberances and creases, concavities and convolutions that evoke, if not the forms of the human anatomy, then those of the vegetable kingdom. The works that have resulted from this conception have about them something of garden sculpture: a simplicity and purity that demand to be set in isolation among trees, shrubs, and grass. This is a new escape from the city; an escape

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which seems to me to be the final meaning of the relative academicism of Arp's later work, with its rejection of the object in favor of the statue. Yet most of his later work still has a quiet force and conviction that make it a great deal more than academic. One may not be prepared at first to accept the quality of these little statues, for they do exhibit some of the same "modernistic" streamlining that troubles us in many of Brancusi's best-known works in stone and metal, but a long look at them will usually overcome this hesitation. They are not among the spectacular feats of modern art, but they are the products of one of the most genuine, sensitive, and integrated of living talents.

Arp's first one-man show of sculpture in this country, at the Buchholz Gallery (through February 12), gives us an opportunity for this long look. Nothing exhibited dates from before 1932, however, and I still prefer his earlier collages and bas-reliefs to his later work in the round—not because they are more advanced, but because they are more positive and moving, more creative. Arp's first collages, whose elements were exclusively rectangular forms on a horizontal base, will always be landmarks because of their perfection. And he, with Klee, was the first to graft explicit "poetry" to the framework of cubism: the "poetry," in his case, of the curvilinear, "biomorphic" silhouette that calls up organic life. And there was also the "poetry" of the accident. As one of the founders of Dada, Arp was among the very first to use it as a means of plastic invention, and his synthesis of accident and "biomorphic" form did almost as much as cubism to make Miró possible. Arp never used the accident as the orthodox surrealists did, that is, as a result, but always subordinated it to an aesthetic intuition that insisted on working itself out according to its own internal logic, for which the accident itself—the bits of torn paper scattered over a page—served only as the shove that set the process of creation going.

From the days of Dada on, Arp has professed his belief in an anonymous, collective art, and he has therefore at times accepted the collaboration of friends and, especially, of his late wife, the gifted Sophie Täuber-Arp. In the latter case it was almost always with success—see, for example, plates 20 and 23 in "On My Way," a book by and about Arp that has recently been published in New York (Wittenborn and Schultz). One cannot be either for or against collective art on principle, but one can still wonder whether Arp's advocacy of it may not be the complement to a certain lack of weight in his art, a certain neutrality, a certain shyness that has made it, alas, only too often overlooked in the histories of modern art. It is not enough to explain Arp by the fact that he is a German romantic in the lyrical "Blaue Blume" tradition. Klee was in that tradition too, and while he may not be an epic artist on the order of Matisse, Picasso, and Léger, he asserted a sharp and definite personality. In my opinion, this is what Arp has failed to do sufficiently.

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Drama Note

"THE SHOP AT SLY CORNER" (Booth Theater) is another English crime play damned here—as several have been—as too tame for American taste. Personally I prefer not to be too much harrowed even by thrillers, but I did object to the prevalence of the familiar and the expected in this tale of a respectable, family-loving fence who found it necessary to murder a blackmailing shop assistant. The latter was played in an appropriately infuriating fashion by Jay Robinson, and I did enjoy seeing him strangled at the end of Act II, but that is hardly enough, and neither Boris Karloff as the murderer nor Una O'Connor, who does a good deal with a standard comic-servant part, were sufficient compensation for other deficiencies.

An informed correspondent takes me to task over my review of "Make Way for Lucia." He agrees that the play was unattractive but blames me for not stressing its unfaithfulness to the Benson novels—which, by the way, are Edwardian not Victorian. It seems that the more or less burlesque costumes of the play actually belong to a different period in so far as they belong to any period at all. And I am especially pleased to be told that the romance between the heroine and the male spinster which I found a little sickening was not in the original. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ANSERMET'S concert with the Philadelphia Orchestra in New York provided an occasion for me to hear the orchestra again after several years, and to marvel anew at the way it continues, despite inevitable changes in personnel, to retain its personal and stylistic individuality, its discipline and finished execution, its fabulously beautiful sonority—though that sonority was marred alarmingly this time by unprecedentedly raucous sounds from the kettledrums. The orchestra still constitutes a living monument to the gifts of the Stokowski of thirty years ago.

Those gifts provided Ansermet with the instrument with which his sound musicianship and authoritative conducting achieved finely wrought performances of Mozart's "Prague" Symphony, Stravinsky's "Song of the Nightingale," Fauré's "Pelléas et Mélisande" Suite, and Debussy's "La Mer." Ansermet's musicianship is sound; but it is also cool—and perfect, therefore, for the Stravinsky and Fauré pieces, but not altogether adequate for the Mozart and Debussy, each of which in its own way has a force and an intensity which Ansermet is unable to give it. The "Prague" Symphony was stated objectively—and drily; and in the first movement of "La Mer," for the accelerated sweep (marked *en animant* and *un peu plus mouvementé*) to the swift-moving climax at No. 11 that is followed by a slowing down, Ansermet's temperament led him to substitute a retardation to a slow-moving climax which was too slow for the string fig-

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ures at that point and for the subsequent slowing down. This was the only instance of its kind, but worth noting as one manifestation of the temperament which caused the performance not to have the sustained momentum and blazing tonal incandescence that Toscanini achieves in the work.

The intensity which Ansermet lacks is one of the outstanding qualities of Guido Cantelli, the young conductor whom Toscanini heard in Italy last summer and invited to conduct the N. B. C. Symphony this year. It is a controlled intensity which gives exciting effect to a strong sense for clarity and continuity of phrase-outline, texture, and structure, and to impressive powers in the manipulating of an orchestra for precision in execution, and balance and beauty of sonority.

For one who recalls, as I do, the silvery tone and the fluid and elegant style of Roisman's playing in the Budapest Quartet in former years it has been painful to hear his playing in the group's recent performances of Haydn and Schubert at the Y. M. H. A.: the coarseness of his tone, the awkward stiffness of his phrasing, which has made it impossible for the others to play with the elasticity and life in ensemble that used to be so extraordinary in the quartet's performances.

A few piano recordings: From RCA Victor one of Schumann's finest works, his Etudes Symphoniques, played by Brailowsky with his usual mannered phrasing (DM-1272, $4.75). Also, turbulent and not always clear performances by Ania Dorfman of "Warum," "Grillen," and "Traumeswirren" from Schumann's "Fantasiestücke" (12-0424); and Beethoven's "Für Elise," rushed and battered by Iturbi (10-1458, with Debussy's early "Rêverie"). And from Columbia Chopin's Andante Spianato and Grande Polonaise Brilliante, performed by Arrau with Thomas Scherman's Little Orchestra Society: the Andante a lovely piece, the Polonaise a less interesting one, which Arrau plays with a steely synthetic grace and a tone that comes off the record cold and glassy (MX-307, $3.50).

Coming Soon in *The Nation*
"Way of a Fighter"
By Claire Lee Chennault
REVIEWED BY JOHN K. FAIRBANK

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Sweden Today: A Problem of Survival

[*The writer of the following report on a recent trip through Sweden is known to* Nation *readers through his articles and letters on conditions in Greece and Spain. Colonel Sheppard was head of the British Economic Mission in northern Greece in 1946-47 and before that was on the staff of UNRRA in Greece. After a trip through the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Scandinavia, he has returned to his native Australia.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: Coming to Sweden from Poland as I did, I had the feeling for a time that I had entered a museum in which had been preserved the objects, habits, and values of the pre-war era; but I soon found that under an apparently unruffled surface lurked almost all of the problems which beset the rest of the world. Many of them, it is true, were less intense because of the ability of the Swedes to compromise. It is their proud boast that they have chosen the middle of the road in everything, that this exacts neutrality in most of the world's great-power conflicts, and that they will be able to maintain this neutrality.

When one questions them about how neutrality worked during the last war, one generally elicits an admission that before their defeats in the Western Desert and at Stalingrad the Germans were able to use Sweden much more easily and more cheaply than if they had occupied the country. The Germans got all the ball-bearings and iron ore they needed, and still owe something like a thousand million kronor for it, and they had transit facilities for troop movements by sea, air, and rail. They were allowed to take away anything that they could carry, and hard bargains were not made. On the other hand, the Swedes have an enviable record of caring for Danish and Norwegian refugees, particularly Jews. Many Swedes claim, with what truth I have no means of discovering, that they used to fly scarce war materials to the Allies and constantly supplied them with intelligence information.

Little other than intellectual communism is to be found in Sweden, although the Communist Party generally commands about 10 to 12 per cent of the votes in any election. Its weakness is due mainly to the high standard of living, to the power of the trade unions and cooperatives—the cooperatives especially are a chief source of anti-Russian propaganda—to the people's fear of Russian intentions, and to their almost complete reliance upon Britain and the United States for foreign news.

The recent discussions between the Swedish Foreign Minister, Dr. Unden, and General Marshall were followed very closely by the Swedish people, who are afraid of any suggestion that might weaken their traditional neutrality. For that reason pressure from Denmark and Norway for Swedish membership in a military alliance with the Western powers is unlikely to be effective.

It was unfortunate for the Western powers that the talks with Franco took place just before these overtures to Sweden, as there is still a very strong objection to Franco and to the influence of religion in Spain. This is kept alive to a great extent by an anti-Franco committee headed by George Branting, son of a former Prime Minister and himself a prominent lawyer and parliamentarian. Mr. Branting was the nominee of the Eastern bloc for governor of Trieste, although he is not a Communist and has opposed the Communists in Sweden on many occasions. He is the leader of the group which wants Sweden to enter into the East-West controversy only if asked by both sides to act as mediator.

The trade unions in Sweden seem to worship respectability, but they have done a good job in insuring that the dignity of labor is not lowered, and

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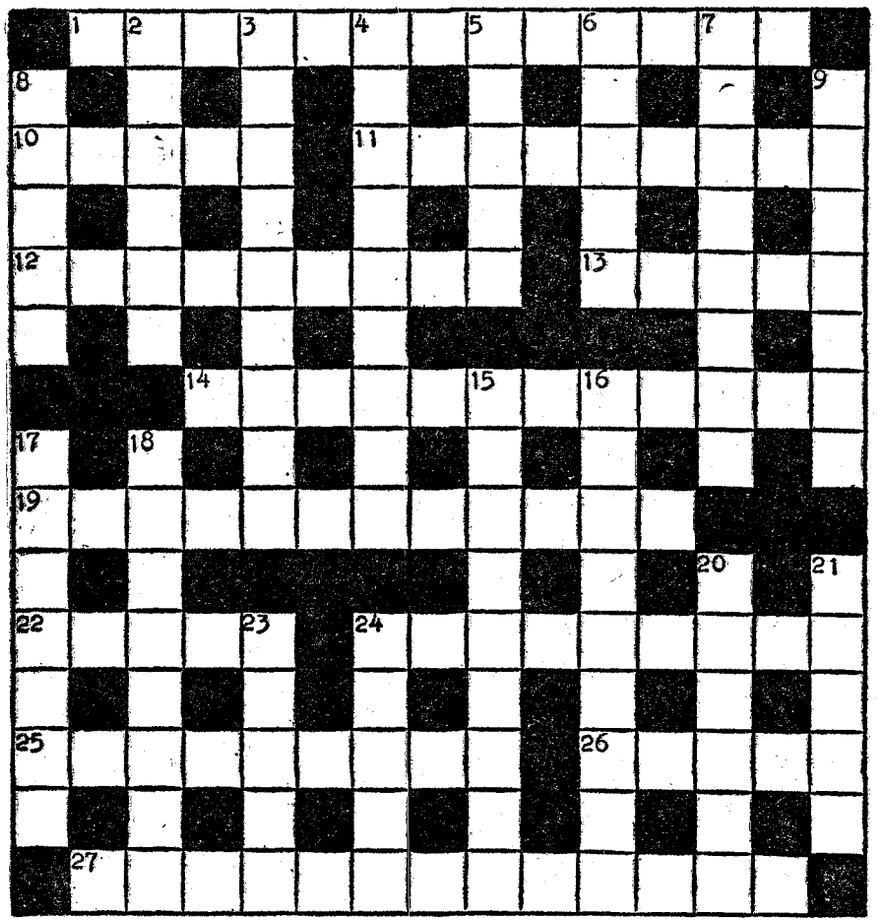
Crossword Puzzle No. 299

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 27 had! (3, 5, 2, 3)
10 Be as good as one of Sheridan's play-boys. (5)
11 Perhaps a singer can use the arrangement. (9)
12 Are these cakes flat to Steinbeck? (9)
13 Shoot, when in the underground, or argue back! (5)
14 Putter, of course, with Jones, and with new Hope. (8, 4)
19 Bases. (12)
22 Barrow, properly speaking, occasionally found in the Garden. (5)
24 Its crew is often told by the chief to go to blazes. (9) (hyphenated)
25 Herman Melville said some grow it upon tears. (9)
26 Did Shakespeare's come on June 24? (5)
27 Dusts of a court shaken by Goethe and Mann. (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Hangs in both overseas locations. (6)
3 Chief product of Tibet? (5, 4)
4 Leave around, when sick at heart. (9)
5 Pales are merely another word for bounds! (5)
6 Mendelssohn's string is well known. (5)
7 A shady way of doing the rumba, lad! (8)
8 Taper, but not to come immediately to the point. (5)
9 After a short time the wise man rises to make laws. (7)
15 Among others, in a retail way. (5, 4)
16 Do they come in and go out about the end of the year? (9)
17 Distress. (7)
18 Undone, in a dig. (8)
20 Such office should logically be run by a cabinet official. (6)
21 Takes fat off, perhaps. (5)
23 Sort of lacteal secretion which justifies no lachrymal effusion. (5)
24 Tuck, for example, when in green material. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 298

ACROSS:—1 FOURFOOTED; 6 SCOT; 10 FORFEIT; 11 MINARET; 12 QUADRANT; 13 ACCRA; 15 ADEPT; 17 INEFFABLE; 19 FOREARMED; 21 LUCRE; 23 TESLA; 24 FOREFOOT; 27 HURDLER; 28 NAUGHTY; 29 DUST; 30 FOREHANDED.

DOWN:—1 FIFI; 2 UPROUSE; 3 FIELD; 4 OSTRACISM; 5 EMMET; 7 CORNCOB; 8 TETRAMETER; 9 UNLAWFUL; 14 FARFETCHED; 16 TEA BALLS; 18 ENDURANCE; 20 RESORTS; 22 CLOTHED; 24 FARGO; 25 FAUNA; 26 BYRD.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

in bettering conditions for their members. They would be the first to deny that they advocate transferring industrial control to the hands of the workers or socializing the means of production and distribution, to which trade unions in many other countries give lip service at least. Often their influence has been indirect rather than direct, and the cooperative societies and progressive municipal councils have probably done as much for the workers as have the trade unions. Official pronouncements of the cooperative bodies regret that "participation by the rank and file of the membership has not matched the record of successful operation," although they claim that "the skill of the managers leaves little room for the democratic process." This is contrary to cooperative theory and belief, but it is what is happening in Sweden today, and any suggestion to Albin Johansson, the boss of the cooperatives in Sweden, that he ought to be subject to some sort of democratic control would be met with an indignant snort. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Mr. Johansson is generally regarded as the smartest business man in Sweden, and as such he participates in most of the government economic discussions.

One would hear no more talk about the class struggle in trade-union circles there than he would, for example, in the offices of the Federation of British Industries. Marxism is known only as something which the Communists read about. There are no squalid homes, slum areas, rack-renters, or grasping employers who have no regard for the welfare of their employees; so the usual breeding ground of communism is not present. The employer-employee relationship is much better than I have seen it in any other country.

Everyone who comes to Sweden is impressed by the steps that have been taken to insure that workers at distasteful tasks are either given compensating benefits in the way of additional pay and special grants of clothing or have the tasks made less distasteful by the use of mechanical equipment. For example, the garbage collector does not have to handle anything except the steel container in which each householder deposits the rubbish. The lid of this container is sealed tightly and is on a hinge. The collector has a rubber-wheeled trolley on which he carries the container; an automatic spring lift hoists it into his truck. The lid is removed by another contrivance, the container is emptied and sprayed with

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water, the lid is sealed, and the container is returned to the collector. I could not help comparing this with garbage collection in other cities. Nearly every Swedish worker is provided with good leather gloves and strong overalls. Street cleaners are paid almost as much as university professors.

New housing schemes are still springing up around Goteborg and Stockholm; the trend toward urbanization is strong here as in other countries. These schemes seemed to me to be in advance of most of those to be seen elsewhere in the world.

Neutrality is the greatest problem for the Swedes; the next is the falling birth rate and the greater number of women than men. Swedish people are not replacing themselves, and unless something is done about this soon, the country will have a disproportionate number of old people. Various methods are being used to induce people to have more children. In most of the cooperative or state-built houses reductions of rent amounting to 30 per cent are given to families with more than two children. The reductions are proportionate for more children, and a family with seven or eight children would perhaps pay no rent at all. But this would be a rare occurrence in Sweden, where the average is a little less than two children per family.

Of course, Sweden has benefited recently, in the matter of numbers at any rate, from the large influx of Finns and Lithuanians—said to exceed 220,000. These are not considered an unmixed blessing as they are always campaigning against the present governments in their home countries and particularly against the Russians. The Swede is not a good hater, and he gets rather embarrassed sometimes by the violent politics of these newcomers. These people, in most cases, got along quite well with the Germans during the German occupation of their countries and only left when the Germans left; so that there is feeling against them in the minds of the anti-German Swedes.

Sweden does not want to force its way of living on others and does not want others to force their ways upon it. But being a small power in a strategic position and with strategic materials, particularly uranium, it senses that its existence is threatened, not by any one power, but by power politics. For these reasons Sweden is a very serious country today.

A. W. SHEPPARD

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